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Schmidt puts seal on Japan bonds

Handelsblatt
DEUTSCHE WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG

Japanese Year, as the recent succession of talks and visits between Bonn and Tokyo has been dubbed, peaked with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's visit to the Japanese capital.

On balance, the Japanese derived most benefit from the visit, as was to be expected.

For Japanese premier Takeo Fukuda it was another step in his bid to ensure for the Far Eastern economic superpower greater Western recognition and consultation.

There are no serious problems in relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, certainly none of a political nature.

Before flying to Tokyo the Chancellor had already approved of trends in the Far East such as the opening up by China and the Sino-Japanese treaty.

The two countries' economic interests run even more strikingly parallel. Both West Germany and Japan are highly industrialised and dependent on foreign trade and imported raw materials, especially oil.

Both, in principle, back free trade. Both face similar tasks in the North-South conflict between industrialised and developing countries.

They share many of these characteristics with the other stalwart of world trade, the United States. But Bonn and Tokyo are at odds with Washington on a number of economic issues.

This disagreement, disregarding for a moment the importance of bilateral ties, is a cogent reason why the Japanese ought to be kept more in mind when Bonn is framing its viewpoint.

Both countries stand accused of accumulating inordinate balance-of-payments surpluses. Both are suffering from America's so far inadequate efforts to stabilise the dollar and correct US energy policy.

They are also under pressure from the United States to open up their markets to US farm produce, so much so that prospects of Gatt agreement by mid-December are not good.

Against the background of the dollar's decline, Bonn and Tokyo, both of whom have carried out part of the economic programme they submitted at the mid-July Bonn economic summit, are worried about the prospects of US efforts to stem the tide.

Prospects of a more stable dollar look even gloomier after Energy Secretary Schlesinger's alarming comments on future US oil import trends.

Helmut Schmidt, in agreement with the Japanese, has stressed how important US efforts to redress the monetary balance are, and forecast that monetary matters will dominate the next economic summit in Japan.

The rules of diplomatic conduct often forbid harsh words, but there can be no doubt that Tokyo backs Bonn fully on this point.

Another point in common is that the two countries seem to be making much the same trade policy concessions.

Shared interests in what Helmut Schmidt calls the three-cornered relationship between America, the Common Market and Japan have led to closer ties between Bonn and Tokyo and between the EEC and Tokyo.

At present it looks up to the United States to decide whether ties between all three are to be strengthened and stability restored.

Eberhard Wisdorff

(Handelsblatt, 13 October 1978)

IN THIS ISSUE



Toast to friendship: Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Japan's Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda raise their glasses while their wives look on during the Chancellor's visit to Japan. (Photo: dpa)

Last-dich bid to save Big Five's SWA plan

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher flew to South Africa and Namibia on 13 October with mixed feelings: what was to become of his suggestion for a joint bid by the five Western members of the UN Security Council to salvage their Namibia plan?

Could more come of the rescue bid than diplomatic confirmation of irreconcilable viewpoints?

That was the problem facing Herr Genscher, who has spent more time and energy on South-West Africa over the past nine months than on any other foreign policy issue.



Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher with South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha during his visit to South Africa to discuss the Namibia question. (Photo: dpa)

He feels the fate of the former German colony hangs in the balance. If the South African government insists on December elections without UN supervision, he foresees catastrophic consequences.

A Namibia granted independence on this basis would be an international pariah and lead the isolated life of a second Transkei.

Guerrilla warfare would no doubt be intensified and might even be accompanied by Soviet or Cuban intervention. At the same time the situation in Rhodesia and South Africa would deteriorate fast.

In view of this assessment, which is evidently how America, Britain, France and Canada feel about the prospects too, Herr Genscher felt onliged to launch a last-minute rescue bid.

So after preliminary talks in New York he and the other four Foreign Ministers decided to fly to Windhoek to see Namibian leaders before going to Pretoria to try to persuade South Africa to accept the UN plan.

Bonn was somewhat upset that French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud backed down at the last minute and sent state secretary Olivier Stirn.

Herr Genscher had this to say about the talks with South African Premier Pieter Botha and Foreign Minister Roelof Botha:

"We genuinely hopee that South Africa's leaders will appreciate their historic responsibility and without hesitation accept our outstretched hand."

In other words, he hoped the South Africans would be persuaded to call off

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■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Chinese leader's visit emphasises new era

Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Rumania and Yugoslavia was more than just the whim of a man who felt like tickling the Soviet Union's soft underbelly from the Balkans.

The Chinese leader was out to demonstrate that Peking has ended its self-imposed isolation from the outside world, and that China's interests are not limited to the Far East and the developing world, but also extend to such a distant and complex continent as Europe.

While Chairman Mao was alive the Chinese leaders tried to impress upon the Common Market countries in particular the need for integration to ward off the Soviet bid for hegemony.

But then they were careful not to overstep the mark between advice and action. Since Chairman Hua's Balkan tour this has changed.

He is to return to Europe next year and will certainly be visiting France and probably West Germany. And now that the Chinese have started forging links, they are pressing ahead tirelessly.

Chinese delegations are almost continuously touring Western Europe, especially the Federal Republic of Germany.

When politbureau member Fang Yi arrived in Bonn, Hao Teh-ching of the Foreign Affairs Institute was just leaving and Foreign Minister Huang Hua was in Italy.

Fang Yi is chairman of the Chinese state committee on science and technology. He has a leading role in the plan submitted by Chairman Hua to the Fifth People's Congress last spring for the transformation of China into a major industrial power by the turn of the century.

His job is to ensure that China acquires foreign know-how and technology, and if industrialisation is to progress at the planned rate he will need to train scientists and engineers who have been through more than the university of revolution.

In Bonn he signed an agreement on scientific and technological cooperation, China's second such pact with the West, the first being with France.

He urged the germans to lose no time in providing university places for 450 Chinese scientists and students.

Chairman Hua certainly has no time to lose if he is to carry out his programme of modernising agriculture, industry, defence, science and technology by 2000.

It is increasingly obvious that the Chinese economy has made even less progress in the past ten years than foreign observers had thought.

Cultural revolution in the late 60s appears not to have been the chief reason for stagnation. Political unrest was mainly to blame.

First came Lin Piao's death, then Chou En-lai's illness, then Teng Hsiao-ping's disgrace and finally Mao's death and the struggle against the Gang of Four.

Natural disasters such as drought and the Tangshan earthquake also played a part in reducing Chinese agriculture and other production sectors to zero growth in 1975-77.

Chairman Hua had greater difficulty in gaining the upper hand over the Gang of Four than was apparent from outside, and political success was not smoothly followed by economic progress.

China must have an enormous backlog to make good. Why else would the Chinese leaders be so intent on using previously vilified methods to encourage economic development?

Peking has decided to raise foreign loans, step up imports, learn from abroad, and to use principles of efficiency and competition.

In the first eight months of this year imports were twice as high as exports, so China is also prepared to accept a current account trading deficit.

This second great leap forward is accompanied not by revolutionary verbiage but by commonsense. Hua's policy of opening up China to foreign influence is not poles apart from Mao's; it is an absolute necessity if China is to gain the place in the world to which it lays claim.

Mao is still revered but he is no longer regarded as the arbiter of thought, word and deed in China.

Take, for instance, the foreign policy assessments currently made by Chinese officials. They are based on Chinese interests rather than wishful thinking.

That is why they are acknowledged in the West to be commonsense and realistic, although the conclusions cannot always be shared because the West has to bear its own interests in mind.

Anyone whose view of the world is not impaired by ideological blinkers stands to gain from examining the Chinese intepretation.

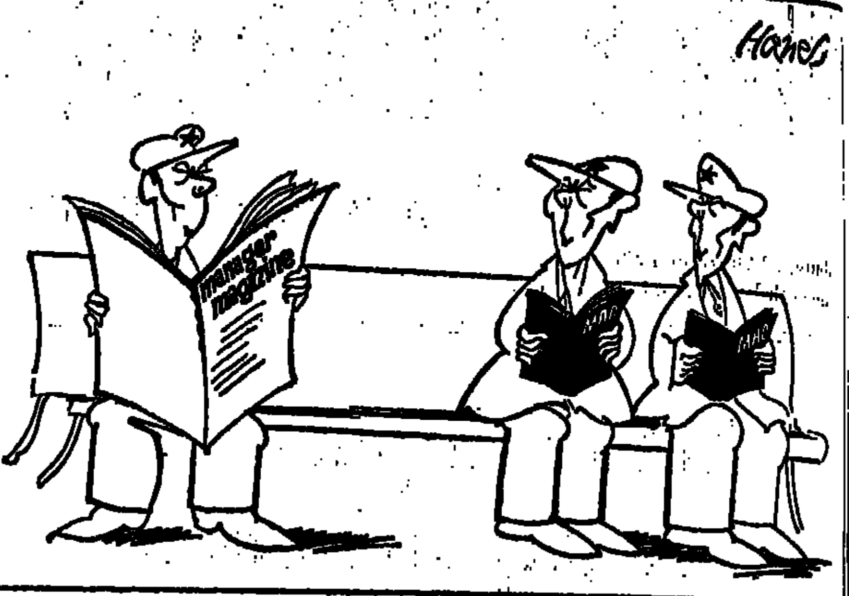
Gratifying though it may be to note that China is beginning to play its role in world affairs in a rational manner, there can be no guarantee of this continuing.

"The moon is more beautiful abroad," was a dictum of the cultural revolution. It was meant as a reproof for people not prepared to make do with domestic answers.

Can Hua Kuo-feng put an end in a couple of decades to a prejudice against foreigners and things foreign that has been part of China's way of life for thousands of years? *Josef Riedmiller*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 October 1978)

First steps to treaty: Research Minister Volker Hauff meets Chinese vice premier Fang Yi at Cologne-Bonn airport before the two countries signed a treaty on technical and scientific cooperation. (Photo: Bundesbildstelle)



(Cartoon: Hanel/Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger)

Last-ditch bid

Continued from page 1

go-it-alone elections and agree after all to the 29 September Security Council resolution, including the report by UN secretary-general Kurt Waldheim.

Bonn said the Western Foreign Ministers would not be carrying frsh compromise proposals. Any claims to the contrary were South African rumours.

"We are bound by the UN Security Council resolution and no longer in a position to amend the plan in any way," Bonn diplomats commented.

Dr Waldheim did leave open one loophole for tactical withdrawal when he told the Security Council that the number of UN troops he proposed to station in Namibia was a ceiling that need not be reached.

South Africa has said that 7,500 men are too many, so there is still leeway on this point.

Herr Genscher feels the composition of the UN force for Namibia is more important than its number, so Pretoria may expect concessions here.

But Western Security Council members feel this is a minor consideration in comparison with the election date.

Is Pretoria afraid that elections next year would result in a Swapo majority? Is a snap election to be held in December without UN supervision to enable pro-South African candidates to win?

If the answer is yes, South Africa is unlikely to yield, Bonn argues. Herr Genscher was far from encouraged when Dirk Mudge of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance refused flatly in talks in Bonn on 11 October to consider any postponement of the elections.

Mr Mudge had already secured political support from Bavarian leader Franz Josef Strauss. Herr Strauss, a leader of the Bonn Opposition, agreed that democratic forces in South-West Africa, especially the DTA, are being left in the lurch by the West.

Are Herr Genscher and his fellow-Ministers banking too heavily on Swapo and the black African frontline states? His staff does not agree for a moment.

They argue that Free Democrat Genscher is keen to arrive at a peaceful, democratic settlement in the interest of the 18,000 German citizens and ethnic Germans in South-West Africa and that a settlement can only be negotiated with all parties.

Herr Genscher was not overlooking the strategic importance of South-West and South Africa. This aspect was so important that direct or indirect Soviet intervention must be prevented.

The only way to ensure that was to arrive at an internationally accepted Namibia settlement along the lines of the Western plan.

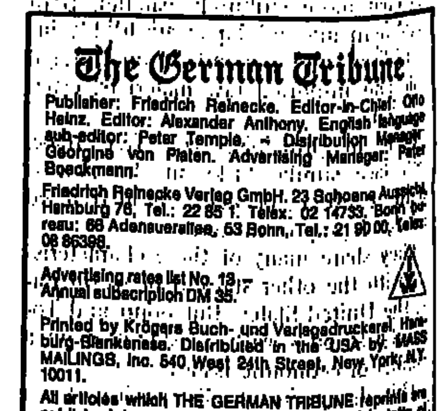
To underscore this argument the Western Foreign Ministers are to impress on the South Africans that in the event of hostilities US or other Western troops will not intervene on South Africa's behalf.

At the same time Herr Genscher had this to say to the South African government:

"If there were to be a peaceful transition to freedom in Namibia, without bloodshed but with free elections, the prospects will be good for a settlement in Rhodesia and for a solution to the problems facing South Africa itself. It is an opportunity not to be missed."

Bernt Conrad

(Die Welt, 14 October 1978)


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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Hesse election: no questions on party futures answered

Uneventful is the best description of the 8 October Hesse election results: voters for the most part stood by their usual parties.

"The result was no change, with the Social Democrats regaining ground marginally and the ecological, anti-nuclear power vote, which only a few months ago looked like becoming a grave danger to the established parties, proving negligible.

The Social and Free Democratic coalition in Hesse ended up with the same number of seats in the state assembly, as did the Opposition Christian Democrats.

The results confirmed the adage that state governments are never ousted at the polls, only by switches in coalition allegiance. Not for decades has a Land government been voted out.

The Hesse CDU's failure to prove the exception was certainly not due to lack of effort, especially as the Social Democrats have recently cut a poor figure after 32 years of governing Hesse.

The CDU mobilised its supporters to the last man, as it has done regularly in recent years. But they were not enough.

Since 1974 between 1,500,000 and 1,600,000 Hesse voters have voted Christian Democrat in local and national polls. The party seems to have peaked and can only expect to gain more support in exceptional circumstances.

Circumstances were anything but exceptional. Voters felt that Bonn, where the same coalition is in power, was pursuing fairly successful policies. The Hesse coalition benefited from the reputation of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and from the shake-up Wiesbaden premier Holger Börner has given Hesse Social Democrats over the past two years.

Besides, voters were told that the survival of the Bonn coalition of Social and Free Democrats was at stake, and this view was so widely held that it was difficult to disprove.

The survival of the Free Democrats in any form was felt to be at stake, given their abysmal showing at the 4 June polls in Hamburg and Lower Saxony.

Viewed in this light, the Christian Democrats fared well. But this is scant consolation for again failing to come closer to power in Bonn.

No-one doubts any longer that the Bonn government led by Social Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Free Democratic Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher will last out the life of the current Bundestag till 1980.

So the Opposition will need to rethink its policies. How can it hope to gain a majority as long as the SPD Chancellor is dubbed the best conservative head of government Bonn has ever had?

How can it hope to gain power as long as Chancellor Schmidt's policies provide the Free Democrats with not the slightest pretext for changing sides, and the Christian Democrats with no opportunity of espousing policies that may be regarded as significant and credible opposition?

Small wonder the Christian Democrats are wondering about the future. Bavaria's Franz Josef Strauss is confidently expected by Press commentators to launch his Christian Social Union as a national fourth major political party before long.

In the run-up to the 15 October Bavarian elections, which Herr Strauss and his CSU won handsomely as expected, the CDU preferred not to mention the prospect of a fourth party.

But speculation is rife. All that can be said with any certainty is that there is a dispute as to the future course Opposition parties should take, and whether they should take it together.

Oddly enough, the CDU and CSU assess the situation in similar terms. Both talk of bloc parties and of the Hesse elections having shown the continued viability of the three-party system.

This is the very reason put forward in the past by fourth party advocates who hold that the political system needs the shake-up the division of the Christian Democrats would bring.

A successful ecological party could also have brought change. It would probably have recruited more support from Social and Free Democrats than from Christian Democrats, paving the way for a Christian Democratic government in Bonn.

But the general feeling after the Hesse poll is that a separate ecological party has proved a failure, which could have alarming consequences for environmental policies in Bonn, where the performance of ecological groupings is understandably taken as an indication of the correctness and urgency of ecological policies.

The Opposition would certainly be ill-advised to base its hopes on a vague expectation that the ecologists will cost the coalition parties the votes Christian Democrats cannot muster.

What, then, of the Free Democrats' future as a bloc party? After Hesse they certainly feel their survival is dependent on alliance with the Social Democrats for the moment.

They now lack the strength to go it alone or switch allegiance; they are still too unsteady after the blows dealt in Hamburg and Lower Saxony. Besides, the Christian Democrats do not advocate policies likely to appeal to the FDP.

The Free Democrats switched allegiance to the CDU in Lower Saxony but were voted out of the state assembly for their pains. CDU leader Alfred Dregger tried unsuccessfully to cultivate a liberal image during the Hesse election campaign.

This is evidently not enough. The idea of a more relaxed CDU carries no conviction as long as it is merely a means to regaining power, remains undefined and thus holds forth the promise of neither durability nor reliability.

CDU analysts are right in assuming that for the time being they cannot rely on FDP support in regaining power.

What next? The only option the Opposition has is to alter the party system by experimenting with one of the many variations on a fourth party.

That is to say, it might consider whether its policies have been to blame for its narrow failure to gain power in both Bonn and Wiesbaden.

The fourth party option has often been examined, and the key objections are well-known and hard to disprove. In the short term, the gains from division will probably be fewer than the losses sustained by the other side.

Anger, disappointment and hatred unleashed by a decision to split the Opposition ranks cannot be overcome in a day.

Besides, the CDU and CSU are likely to compete so keenly for conservative voters than they will no longer appeal to the middle of the road.

The fourth party is anything but a sure way to gain power.

The Christian Democrats' most serious mistake has probably been to respond too hectically in the short term and not maintain a consistent political line.

This may be understandable for a party within a grasp of power, but the effect has been detrimental. For years Herr Strauss, Herr Kohl and the Christian Democrats have given the impression of seeking some shortcut or other to power in Bonn.

Had they but tried to establish themselves more systematically as a liberal conservative party, they might well have derived more benefit from the mistakes the Bonn coalition has undeniably made.

This cannot be said to have been a certainty, any more than it will prove one in future. There can be little doubt that the Christian Democrats are unlikely to regain power as long as they make occasional liberal noises but for the most part give the impression that they have fallen prey to defensive conservatism.

Many observers reckoned CDU leader Helmut Kohl might be able to dispel this prejudice, but he has so far failed.

Herr Kohl has failed to develop a distinctive image, and is thus strangely prone to criticism. He is not brought to the voter's attention for endorsing a viewpoint controversial within Opposition ranks, but for failing to restore order within the party, as a number of Opposition speakers claim.

True, his calls to order have failed, but the Opposition has only itself to blame. It is still too prone to equate policy debates with disputes between individuals, too given to taking potshots at its own leader.

Scepticism is called for when CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler appeals to the party for an objective debate on a catalogue of issues ranging from the public service employment of political extremists to economic growth policies.

The CDU needs to re-establish itself as a party of the future, he says. Fair enough, but what will remain of the debate once it has been dealt with by the party conference, the parliamentary party and the CDU-CSU strategy commission?

What will remain of these good intentions now that Franz Josef Strauss has won a handsome electoral victory in Bavaria?

The Opposition is sure to revert to the question that has troubled it for years: would not Herr Strauss, regardless of his policies, be the better Shadow Chancellor? *Rolf Zundel*

(Die Zeit, 13 October 1978)

Extremists: Klose move opens debate

Politics cannot be shelved merely because an election campaign is in progress, so Hamburg mayor Hans-Ulrich Klose deserves respect for voicing his views on public service employment of political extremists.

Whether he was tactically well-advised to do so on the eve of crucial mid-term elections in Hesse is another matter.

Were the Christian Democrats right to make the subject a last-minute election issue? Possibly not, given the way Hesse voters voted.

It seems likely that CDU leader Alfred Dregger did himself more harm than good by making play with the issue. He had begun to emphasise a liberal outlook in a bid to canvass support but probably cancelled out any effect by his attitude on this final campaign issue.

The Hesse election results have meant that discussion of a uniform change in the intolerable method of screening applicants for public service employment can be resumed with less fear of electoral backlash.

No-one can seriously claim that the Hesse results were a referendum in which voters clearly decided for or against Communists in the public service or for or against Christian or Social Democratic views on the subject.

Oddly enough, little or no mention was made of the issue in election post-mortems, so the Social and Free Democrats in Bonn really ought to take heart and so something.

The Social Democrats' national executive is shortly to review proposals submitted by SPD vice-chairman Hans Koschnick, mayor of Bremen.

They largely coincide with those of Herr Klose, and are based on the idea that applicants for public service jobs ought in future only to be screened for political reliability when there are specific reasons for assuming that their political views are so extreme that they clash with the constitution.

Membership of a political party felt to hold views counter to the aims of the constitution is not in itself a sufficient ground for screening.

The individual applicant's behaviour is to be the deciding factor, and if screening by the Office for the Protection of the Constitution is deemed necessary, it will not be undertaken immediately but only once the applicant has been approved subject to the political proviso.

A number of leading Social and Free Democrats cut a poor figure in the final days of the Hesse election campaign, evidently afraid of backlash and coming down heavily on attempts to rethink present practice.

The "do you think I want my children to be taught by Communist teachers?" approach was intended to assuage the vague feeling of anxiety Opposition politicians were keen to mobilise among the electorate.

They failed to do so, so maybe we shall now make headway towards change. *Martin E. Süskind*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 15 October 1978)

■ INTRA-GERMAN AFFAIRS

Major treaty package ready for tying last strings



At the beginning of June when Erich Honecker and Günter Gaus went behind closed doors in East Berlin to prepare the next major round of German-German talks, now in its last phase, the East German leader suggested two-tier negotiations.

On the official tier, Herr Gaus was to negotiate with GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier, on the other with Alexander Schalck, state secretary in East Germany's Foreign Trade Ministry.

Herr Honecker left no doubt that he considered the second, secret, tier the more important, admonishing the two parties to maintain strict secrecy and discretion. Rumours in the marketplace, he said, could only be detrimental.

The East German leader knew what he was talking about, since leaks from Bonn had caused a stir in East Berlin – above all because they provided the Soviet Union with a way to adversely affect the talks between the two German states.

The name Alexander Schalck means little in the West although, in his capacity as state secretary in the Foreign Trade Ministry he has repeatedly charted the course of intra-German relations.

An economist, Schalck is directly answerable to the manager of the GDR's economy, Politbureau member Günter Mittag. He has direct access to Erich Honecker.

Alexander Schalck is the chief foreign exchange procurer and controls the flow of Western currency from the Federal Republic of Germany to the GDR.

For instance, Bonn's payments for the release of prisoners in the GDR and to reunite families go through Schalck's office. He is also in charge of the state's deals in art objects, sold against hard currency to the "capitalist West."

At the same time, Herr Schalck is one of East Berlin's chief troubleshooters. Whenever there is a shortage of grain in the GDR, he goes to the United States to remedy the situation.

As far back as the 50s, it was his job to find ways to provide East Berlin with raw materials on which there was a Western embargo.

Schalck gathered international experience and this distinguishes him from other GDR bureaucrats. He has frequently startled Western negotiators by his urbanity, flexibility and – very rare in East Germany – his sense of humour. He also likes the good life.

Schalck is ambitious without being a careerist and thus very much an exception in the GDR elite.

He is too intelligent to be peremptory and modest enough not to have to fear that others in the GDR hierarchy will saw away at his branch.

Honecker is thus clearly satisfied with his state secretary. The most comprehensive package of agreements since the Basic Treaty is wrapped up. In it are the construction in 1980 of an autobahn linking Berlin with Hamburg – a project first planned in the 30s and now expected to be completed by 1985.

The GDR dropped its demand of DM2 billion, settling for DM1.5 billion, but it has stuck by its refusal to follow West German companies to share in the construction and has rejected quality controls. Even in preliminary talks with Günter Gaus, Herr Honecker rejected any doubts about the GDR's expertise. But it was agreed that construction machinery be bought from the Federal Republic of Germany.

In 1980, the two Germanies have agreed to negotiate the building of a subsidiary road off the North Autobahn to serve the Lüchow-Dannenberg area. Bonn thus hopes to placate Lower Saxony, which had protested against the northern route to Hamburg, advocating a southern route through Lüchow-Dannenberg to promote the underdeveloped region along the border with East Germany.

The scales were tipped in favour of Hamburg, not only because of the preference of Hamburg resident Helmut Schmidt, but also because the land for the northern route has been state-owned for some time, making it possible to start soon.

This also offsets the disadvantage of a considerably longer stretch through the GDR, not to mention that East Berlin insisted on the northern route.

The Teltow Canal linking the rivers Oder and Elbe is to be reopened, saving time and money for Western shipping.

The 39km canal – 30 kilometers on West Berlin territory – can now only be reached via East Berlin. The Federal Republic had to pay DM70 million to the GDR for this arrangement. On top of this, there is DM90 million that has to be paid because the GDR made it a condition for the opening of the canal that the waterways linking West Berlin with the Federal Republic of Germany be dredged.

In accordance with GDR wishes, a flat rate transit fee is to be fixed at DM550 million for ten years.

In the 1971 Transit Agreement, Bonn undertook to pay flat rate fees for the use of transit routes to and from Berlin and for visa fees.

Between 1972 and 1975, this amounted to an annual DM234.9 million. Since then the fee has been adjusted to the density of traffic, now amounting to DM400 million.

For the further development and extension of the GDR autobahn checkpoint Wartha, the Bonn government has offered to pay DM40 million.

The GDR is prepared to allocate DM400 million for non-commercial payments in the next two years.

The intra-German negotiations, which Herr Gaus would have liked to have finished before the Hesse election in the hope (probably wrong) that this bit of *Deutschlandpolitik* would help the SPD and FDP, are now likely to be ready for signing in November.

There is again some talk of a possible meeting between Erich Honecker and Helmut Schmidt, but it is doubtful that this will happen. Herr Schmidt seems prepared to go to East Berlin only if he can be reasonably certain that Honecker is prepared to lower the age limit for GDR citizens visiting the West. The issue is now under discussion among GDR leaders.

The general trend seems to be to use the lowering of the age as a bargaining point to induce Bonn to reimburse the GDR for hard currency which GDR citizens are permitted to take out of the country when visiting the West.

Jürgen Engert

(Deutsche Zeitung, 6 October 1978)

GDR critic's long fight goes on

Robert Havemann is a symbol in two senses for the GDR. Before the initially faithful Stalinist became the champion of a kind of GDR Eurocommunism, he was one of the celebrated personalities of anti-fascist resistance.

Already renowned, the chemist Havemann, a member of the resistance organisation called European Union, was sentenced to death in 1943.

Former colleagues saved him by suggesting that he be used for "research work vital for the war effort" within prison, thus achieving two reprives.

In 1963, when Havemann began on his rebellion against the GDR's Communist leadership, Honecker, his former cellmate, was secretary of the Central Committee and thus automatically his enemy.

After the war, Havemann was first head of the West Berlin Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, then director of the Chemo-Physical Institute of East Berlin's Humboldt University.

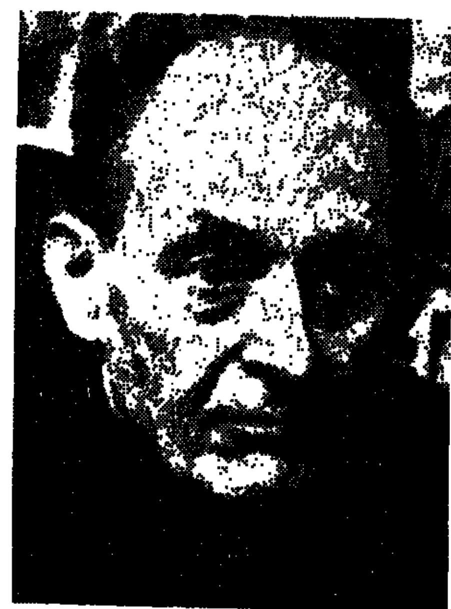
In 1963, during a lecture tour, he openly criticised the GDR's brand of "socialism". As a result, he lost his university post and was expelled from the East German Socialist Unity Party with Honecker's approval and, in violation of the statutes, from the Academy of Science.

Experience from that era is in evidence in his new book. What he says in it about the "role of the charlatans" and "former Nazis" in the GDR is also based on his experience over his expulsion from the Academy.

The former Academy president, Professor Werner Hartke, who managed to gain the upper hand in the action taken against Havemann despite the objection of a third of the members, was promoted to a high post in military counter-intelligence following the attempt to assassinate Hitler and thus in a position of power when Havemann awaited his execution.

But it was not only personal experience which made Havemann a critic of GDR socialism and forerunner of GDR Eurocommunism.

More important was the change in his



Robert Havemann: a symbol of resistance. (Photo: dpa)

theoretical views, his courage in propounding them and the response this found in the GDR and the Socialist Unity Party (SED).

As he said in a letter three years ago to Ernst Bloch, he not only speaks on behalf of men like Wolf Biermann but also for "many others whose names I cannot mention because they may still not be mentioned."

The "programme" of the opposition in the GDR has remained essentially unchanged since the mid-60s. In many ways it is even unchanged in essence since the Wolfgang Harich appearance in 1956.

Bahro's book A Criticism of Existing Socialism, with which Havemann says that he is "in full accord" and holds "very similar or identical views," has only lent impetus to his criticism, turning it into a programme.

In a few key words it can be sketched as: "Existing socialism" is not socialism, is not viable as a system and "cannot stand its ground in competition with capitalism."

Though the democracy in Western countries is "largely a farce" according to Havemann, "socialism cannot be realised without democracy."

Havemann says this of the GDR regime: "Never before has the gap between the people and the government been greater than now ... only few more outside impulses are needed to chase the Politbureau to hell."

Even so, he considers the GDR "further progressed historically than the West" – especially because it did away with private ownership of the means of production.

Havemann advocates a "socialist state free of state ideology," a society "without privileged persons, classes and groups and with equal opportunity for all."

This is not to be a "communism of want and misery" but it is also not to be a consumer-oriented society.

His way of achieving this is not a fight from the barricades but in parliament. Party tactics should be "the historic compromise", along the lines of Italy's Communist Party, that is an alliance with all parties and groupings espousing social progress.

It is understandable that the SED would like to drive him to the point where he would want to leave the GDR. As far back as 14 years ago, the state secretary in charge spread the news that Havemann "evidently intends to teach in West Germany."

But he refuses to leave voluntarily and can thus only be removed by force. The party and government, however, shy away from this, as they did 14 years ago.

This brings us to the question as to Havemann's and Bahro's influence in the GDR. As he did 14 years ago, the

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■ LABOUR

Industry's loneliest job: speaking for the workers

DIE ZEIT

For Siegfried Ehlers, chairman of Volkswagen's works council, his signing of Plan S1 was one of the blackest moments in his career.

Although he had obtained many concessions for the staff at the beginning of 1975 (the company paid DM175 million in severance pay) he was unable to prevent the dismissal of 23,000 staff members and money cannot replace a job.

The redundancies came as a shock to Ehlers and his fellow works council members. As a result, they negotiated a "middle-of-the-road personnel policy" with the board, aimed at preventing similar crises.

The basic idea is to coordinate on a long-term basis the number of workers and output, preventing hectic fluctuations. This means VW cannot always supply as many automobiles as are in demand, accepting long delivery terms.

Herbert Lucy, Ehlers' opposite number at Daimler-Benz, has so far been spared similar problems.

But on 29 September at the works council elections of the main plant near Stuttgart – the election had to be repeated due to manipulation in favour of the Metalworkers Union – Herr Lucy saw a strong opposition group voted in. The danger of a split in the works council guarding the interests of the staff has now become real, and this is bound to make the council less effective.

There are two sides of a coin: Siegfried Ehlers, like any other works council chairman also bearing responsibility for the company, had to help carry the most difficult management decision made in the Federal Republic of Germany in recent years. Herbert Lucy, on the other hand, must expect and cope with a no-confidence vote by the Daimler-Benz staff against the old works council and the union and try to put relations between the staff and its representatives on a sound footing again.

Responsibility for company and for staff is the dual task with which thousands of council chairmen in the Federal Republic have to live.

In all companies with more than 300 staff members, the works council members are relieved of all other work to devote themselves to this virtually impossible task.

The *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (law governing employer-employee relations), last revised in 1972, outlines the functions of the works council. Together with the co-determination laws, the law is the outcome of a more than 100-year struggle by the labour movement for business democracy and effective staff representation.

While in their Communist Manifesto Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels called on the proletariat to rid itself of its chains, thus calling for an uprising, deputies of the National Assembly in Frankfurt's St. Paul Church deliberated in 1848 on peaceful and democratic ways of giving labour a say in business.

Following debates in the economic affairs committee of the National Assembly, a Bill was tabled to set up factory committees.

Looking back, these deliberations and the Frankfurt National Assembly as a whole were no more than an interlude, although with a bearing on the future.

The Bill was based on an idea formulated a decade earlier by Catholic social philosopher Franz von Baader and international law specialist Robert von Mohl, who demanded in 1835 that works committees be formed to curtail the patriarchal authority of the bosses.

Subsequently Pope Leo XIII, known as the social pope, raised the issue again in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum*.

Bismarck's undersecretary of state, Theodor Lohmann, a conservative, and the liberal politician Friedrich Naumann sought ways of turning the industrial subject into an industrial citizen.

Even Kaiser Wilhelm II suggested in 1890 that, as a way of restoring peace in factories, works committees be formed – a suggestion which led to the estrangement with Bismarck, who considered co-determination a humanitarian fraud.

Businessmen like David Peters in Wuppertal and Hutschenreuther in Selb voluntarily formed works committees in their factories, but the first legislated representation for workers came in 1905 in the mining industry.

Works councils came at the height of World War One, with the military acting as midwives.

On orders of the Supreme Command, a law governing national auxiliary service was passed in 1916, Section 11 ordering that all businesses working for the service establish staff committees if they employed more than 50 people.

On the same occasion, trade unions were for the first time recognised as legitimate workers' representatives.

Further steps were the Works Council Act of 1920 and the *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* of 1952, which provided a legal framework for the revived works council system after World War Two. The law was amended and extended in 1972.

The new law provided a system of staff representation on all levels. Individual firms employing more than five people must have a council, companies with subsidiaries in different places must have comprehensive works councils (consisting of representatives of all councils) and corporations with affiliate companies must have a "concern council."

In its 132 sections the law provides a blueprint for the structure and function of councils. The most important passage reads: "Employers and works councils must cooperate faithfully, observing contracts resulting from collective bargaining, working in conjunction with the trade unions represented in the company and with employers associations for the good of the staff and of the company."

The law thus provides the framework for the work of Siegfried Ehlers, Herbert Lucy and all other works council chairmen in Germany, whose function is described as follows: "The chairman of the works council or, in his absence, his deputy, represents the works council within the framework of the decisions made by it. Statements addressed to the works council can be accepted by the chairman or, should he be prevented, his deputy."

The actual power of the works council chairman – especially in large companies – rests with his day-to-day work. Since almost all decisions in a company also concern the workers, there is hardly anything that does not concern him. This lends his position the status of a board member – except that his mandate stems from the "other side", the staff, whose problems are the works council's chief concern.

Heinz Michaels

(Die Zeit, 13 October 1978)

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rebellious professor still says: "I do not feel isolated."

He evidently refers not only to the demonstrations of sympathy for him and his wife when, heavily guarded by state security officers, they are permitted to leave home to shop.

The Havemann case has attained a symptomatic significance for the Eurocommunist parties which should not be underestimated. And Havemann both boldly and circumspectly pins his hopes on this.

The next few weeks will show whether the unstable position of the SED Politbureau as he sees it is not stronger than he thinks – so strong in fact that it can continue to cope with Robert Havemann's heresy.

Walter Osten

(Vorwärts, 12 October 1978)

Labour court deserves a simple gift

Section 40, paragraph 1, of the law governing labour relations courts, in force for 25 years this October, says: "The Federal Labour Relations Court is to have its seat in Kassel."

The court is the highest labour relations court in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin.

The *Bundesarbeitsgericht* (BAG) did not, however, begin work until the summer of 1954. After a ruling on a procedural question in its first session of 28 April 1954, it held its first hearing on 29 June 1954 when a panel ruled that a typist who had given notice shortly after receiving her Christmas bonus could keep the money.

In the past 25 years, the court has heard 17,955 lawsuits and ruled on 16,424 by 31 August 1978.

More than 1,500 cases – far more than can be handled in a year – are pending, and there are new cases coming in all the time.

While initially there were seven justices on two panels trying to clarify legal ambiguities in the wake of the war, today the court has 22 justices on six panels.

But even in this highest labour court, professional judges have no monopoly on meting out justice. Honorary assessors – three for each panel – have equal rights as representatives of employers and employees.

In interpreting labour laws the courts provide a balance between the interests of business and employees.

They have faced criticism in their work, particularly the BAG.

Following critical analyses of its rulings by legal experts, rulings cannot be viewed as holding forever but must be periodically reviewed.

For instance, the grand panel of the BAG, consisting of ten judges who rule on matters of "fundamental importance involving the further development of legislation and the securing of uniform rulings by the courts", has so far been called upon in 27 cases, 24 of which have been settled.

The court came into real prominence with its ruling on strikes and lockouts in 1955 and 1971. In the latter case the BAG held that employers may use lockouts as counter-measures in labour disputes, while at the same time improving labour's position by ruling that arbitrary refusal of re-employment after a strike is illegal.

With regard to rulings on labour disputes, recently again questioned, the Kassel justices had no choice but to put case law in place of legislation, having been left in the lurch by the lawmakers.

The fact that the dismissal protection law has become severance pay legislation rather than a job protection law is primarily due to the excessively long duration of legal proceedings. In most cases jobs are lost before the case has been settled and the only compromise is severance pay.

The BAG has always regretted this, stressing that when an employee has won his case he is more interested in retaining his job than in severance pay.

The nicest birthday present for the overtaxed court would be more judges and simplified procedures.

Siegfried Löffler

(Handelsblatt, 10 October 1978)

BUSINESS

Business front keeps quiet over mark revaluation

DIE ZEIT

Over since Ludwig Erhard decided in 1961 to revalue the deutschemark by about five per cent there has been a hue and cry from business with every subsequent revaluation or appreciation.

Businessmen have lamented the loss of competitiveness on world markets and the impending doom of Germany's exporters.

But although the deutschemark has appreciated at a tremendous rate in the past five years, more so than the monetary pessimists of the sixties would have thought possible, the lamentations have diminished steadily.

Last week, when the dollar for the first time dropped below DM1.90, business paid virtually no attention, taking the attitude 'All Quiet on the Western Front.'

Many a businessman has meanwhile changed his tune. Thus, for instance, chief executive of Brown Boveri, Hans Göhringer, even went so far as to warn of the dangers of a European monetary stability zone with virtually fixed exchange rates, conceding that German industry coped better than originally expected with flexible exchange rates.

Anyone maintaining the opposite will be hard-pressed to prove his thesis. At odds with all textbook wisdom, German exports have risen inexorably, undaunted by deutschemark appreciation.

Granted, the appreciation against other major currencies was not as pronounced as against the dollar. In fact, the steep rise of the Japanese yen and the Swiss franc even led to depreciation against them.

But taking the currencies of Germany's 22 most important trading partners as a basket, the Bundesbank reckons the deutschemark has never before been so expensive. Assuming the 1973 exchange rate to be indexed as 100, today's index figure would be 151.

Excepting only 1975, German exporters nevertheless have broken their own records year after year; and unless something unforeseen happens Germany will be the world's number one exporter by Christmas, outselling the United States.

According to IMF figures, exports of $67,000m in the first half of this year were already only slightly below the United States; and Germany's exports so far this year have grown faster than America's.

While America still had an 18-per-cent share in world exports in 1950, the Federal Republic of Germany lagging far behind with only 3.6 per cent, the two countries are now running neck and neck in the export race.

Coutinho Caro, a Hamburg exporer and importer, has expressed his puzzlement about Germany's export business which seems to flourish in direct relation to the appreciation of the deutschemark.

Notwithstanding constant warnings that a setback is bound to come because such a development is out of keeping with economic tenets and that it takes time for the flow of goods to adjust to new exchange rates, such an argument is no longer convincing, the adjustment being long overdue after five years of steep appreciation.

The setback has failed to materialise and is not even in the offing.

Latest statistics on the influx of orders show that international demand for German goods has again risen — in August almost 14 times as fast as domestic orders.

But this export miracle is not as mysterious as it might appear. Quite apart from the attraction of goods made in Germany and the reliability of German suppliers, higher inflation rates in the buyer nations have largely offset appreciation of the deutschemark.

Apart from Switzerland, no other Western trading partner has managed to combat inflation as successfully as Germany.

This is likely to remain so for some time. While Germany's inflation rate has reached its lowest point in nine years, now standing at 2.2 per cent, prices in the United States are rocketing at a rate of close to 11 per cent.

Another rebuff for textbook tenets is that despite such successes in the fight against inflation, the number of Germans out of work is also down, September figures having dropped to 864,274, the lowest in four years.

The Federal Republic of Germany is nevertheless not an unfair trading partner, combatting its unemployment by flooding the markets of neighbouring countries with German goods, as has now been proven by Munich's Ifo Institute, which established that in seven out of twelve West European countries Germany is now the most important buyer.

Appreciation of the deutschemark in the past two years has made it easier for foreign companies to gain a foothold on the German market, much to the chagrin of their German competitors. Still, anyone setting out to become world champion in exporting should not point an accusing finger at others.

Michael Jungblut

(Die Zeit, 13 October 1978)

New foreign aid policy

The decision by the Bonn Cabinet to waive the debts of the 30 poorest developing countries was the first step towards making good a promise given last spring. Bonn recently granted its first non-repayable loan to Sudan.

Both these moves are anything but purely altruistic. Aid has failed to bring about a *development stage in the recipient* countries that would have enabled them to repay loans.

Development aid, undisputedly still necessary, instead of serving its actual purpose has to be used to repay principal and interest. It is therefore necessary to put an end to development aid of old, which jas failed to achieve the hoped-for effect, some of the blame being attributable to both donor and recipient.

The Cabinet decision was also taken because direct government development aid, regardless of volume, is in all instances only a fraction of the assistance provided by business, which naturally expects to make a profit in the long run.

Government aid can only improve infrastructure in the recipient countries, providing starting assistance and directing economic development in the right direction.

But if we succeed in including the developing nations in the world economy to their and our benefit, non-repayable loans could prove worthwhile.

There are two other advantages. If a loan is not repayable, the donor can exert greater influence on the recipient country and demand that it account for the money.

But above all, the donor would have a right to expect that the recipients do not reciprocate by a political slap ine face.

This does not mean that non-repayable loans should entail concrete political terms. But, as Chancellor Schmidt pointed out when he attended the UN General Assembly last May, donor countries have a right to expect recipients not to act in a manner diametrically opposed to their interests.

Instead, and in keeping with political rules of the game, they should strive to achieve a balance of interests.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 5 October 1978)

Emminger: an apostle of stability

Bundesbank president Otmar Emminger, who largely attributes the Federal Republic of Germany's success in fighting inflation to his bank's money supply policy, was a strict and witty apostle of monetary stability in Washington.

The quota increase in the International Monetary Fund, aimed at providing more credit for the developing countries through higher liquidity, is "as necessary as a swimsuit for a duck," he said, meaning it was superfluous.

With Bonn Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer, Emminger was one of the main opponents at the annual IMF and World Bank conferences in Washington of a massive increase in international liquidity.

Though in the tug-of-war with the developing countries the Western industrialised nations gained the upper hand again, the have-nots having demanded a quota increase for IMF members by 80 per cent and the members of the Club of Ten (the ten most important industrial nations) having succeeded in lowering this to 50 per cent, even this goes far beyond the amount originally envisaged by West Germany.

Bonn's concessions amount to a political compromise aimed at placating the developing nations in view of the potential weight they carry in the world economy.

If the industrialised nations want to keep the worldwide flow of liquidity under some control, they will have to win over as many young nations as possible for the IMF.

In order to be able to exercise control in the form of set rules, the IMF first has to be in a position to offer something, and what it has to offer are credits, increasingly sorely needed by the Third World.

But in granting credits, the IMF has to be cautious on terms. Some developing nations have already intimated in Washington that they consider IMF terms intolerable interference in their domestic affairs.

The quota increase by 50 per cent agreed in Washington provides the IMF with a further capital of 58,500m SDRs.

These being worth $70,000m, the IMF would be stronger than the pool of the new European currency system into which 20 per cent of EEC foreign exchange reserves are to flow within two years. This means that the European pool would stand at between DM70,000m and DM90,000m while the IMF would have the equivalent of DM35,000m at its disposal.

America is worried that the IMF hitherto dominated by Washington, could be run into second place by the European monetary fund.

If the weaker European countries, such as Italy and Britain, which have already expressed interest in joining the new European monetary system, decide to get their credits from the Europool, the IMF would lose two good customers, both having frequently resorted to IMF loans, accepting the stiff terms imposed.

Britain and Italy hope to soften these terms somewhat when availing themselves of credits from the Europool.

Jim Callaghan and Giulio Andreotti hope the financially strong European partners would, for the sake of Europe, not be as harsh in their conditions as the IMF.

Moreover, and as opposed to the Snake, Britain and Italy, should they join the new monetary system from the very beginning, would have a say on credit terms.

The United States is not exactly happy about monetary competition from Europe, fearing for its influence on the world economy.

Jimmy Carter had his reasons for giving his word of honour at the Washington monetary conference that he would support the US $, but his promises were no more specific than in the past.

Mr Carter wanted to demonstrate American strength before the gathering of central bank governors and finance ministers. But he failed to achieve this due to lack of credibility in financial circles.

In future, IMF credits could flow primarily into developing countries, which would meet the expectations of the Third and Fourth World though at the same time stripping the IMF of its aura of exclusiveness.

How much, given this exclusiveness, developing countries covet IMF membership was demonstrated recently by the Solomon Islands which, having become independent on 7 July 1978, became IMF members only three months later.

Dietrich Zwätz

(Deutsche Zeitung, 6 October 1978)

TRADE

China takes first strides in Great Economic Revolution

Politely smiling members of a Chinese trade delegation who recently visited a Bavarian porcelain factory made avid notes as the floor supervisor explained technical details.

No German observer got the idea that China trying to learn from Germany in the porcelain sector was tantamount to carrying coals to Newcastle, the Chinese having been the world's leading porcelain makers centuries ago.

But today this heritage is lost and they have to refresh their know-how. China picked Europe, and particularly the Federal Republic of Germany, from whom to learn with good reason.

If oblique intimations from some delegation members are to be believed, they are fascinated by Germany's economic recovery, West Germany having started at zero and developed into one of the leading industrial nations. China, too, is trying to achieve a similar economic miracle.

A start has already been made. The People's Republic of China will conclude long-term contracts with the Federal Republic for the supply of capital goods worth around DM8,000m.

One of the peculiarities of these deals is that they are to be handled on a credit basis. Up to now, it has been an iron rule of China's foreign trade to pay for imports in cash or kind.

But it must be taken into account that Chinese foreign trade has never before reached a similar volume.

Between 1974 and 1977, insiders estimate, China's foreign trade amounted to between DM1,000m and DM2,000m, mostly machinery.

This year alone, Chinese orders exceeded DM10,000m not including the February trade treaty with Japan, envisaging trade to the tune of $20,000m by 1985.

Past masters in cautious formulations, the Chinese nevertheless seem to intimate that they will be very careful when availing themselves of credit. But estimates of China's foreign exchange reserves make it clear that there is hardly an option left.

Currency reserves, estimated at $3,000m are roughly the amount China intends to spend for equipment purchases.

The Chinese view credits as a help towards self-help, and the new venture is being carefully prepared; Vice-President Fang Yi paid an official visit to Bonn while Tsou Szu Yi of the Chinese Trade Ministry criss-crossed the country with delegations, exploring export possibilities. This of course includes the search for optimal ways of marketing.

China's technological manufacturing know-how is as much in need of development as is its organisational set-up.

Even a state monopoly cannot afford in the long run to send empty jumbo jets to the West to pick up a few dairy cows, as Bavarian exporters point out.

To improve its currency reserves,

Süddeutsche Zeitung

China wants to fall back primarily on its abundant raw materials. Japan, for instance, is at present buying seven million tons of crude oil per annum — and this is only the beginning.

The recently ordered open-cast coal-mining equipment to be supplied by Germany is also to serve to reverse the flow of goods.

In this connection, China seems to be emulating the Soviet Union — in the normal course not exactly an example for Peking — who, together with other Comecon countries, owes the West some 100,000m deutschemarks.

Due to its shortage of foreign exchange, Comecon has to flood the European market with steel, vehicles and consumer goods.

It will take a long time before China achieves such a trade volume. It does not yet have a Western style consumer goods industry, but the Chinese stress the yet, pointing out that they are about to introduce the incentive principle.

Latterly, there have been greater differences in Chinese wages and the egalitarian phase seems to be over.

But the incentive to produce more is not only provided by higher wages. *There must also be something a worker can buy for his money,* and so the Chinese are now trying to satisfy needs formerly considered redundant.

Much as China is interested in importing know-how and technology, it nevertheless does not even think of permitting direct investment.

Trade representatives, on the other hand, are welcome. But there, too, China has its own ideas. It would not like to suffer the fate of Polish chocolate manufacturers who were famous for the quality of their goods before World War Two.

But after the war and under state management, products were sold at give-away prices, resulting in a poor image for what was still good Polish chocolate.

Much worse English products, on the other hand, have become the favourite of nibblers thanks to Britain's better marketing strategy.

An example of marketing aimed at quality is China House, recently opened in Munich, which sells Chinese art treasures at prices which imply quality.

There seems to be no shortage of well-to-do collectors and historic objects dating back to the old dynasties sell like hot cakes, notwithstanding price tags of a quarter million or more.

The cultural revolution seems to have left some of the art treasures, but German importers still find it hard to meet demand.

In some instances it takes years before a shipment reaches its destination, and payment by letter of credit has to be made in advance.

But the Chinese are also generous inasmuch as price increases between order and shipment due to inflation are not charged to the customer.

Norbert Sturm

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 10 October 1978)

Moscow's keen watch on treaty debate

Moscow's Bonn-watchers paid a great deal of attention to the recent Bundestag debate on the German-Soviet cooperation treaty.

The attitude of Bonn's political parties towards the treaty is viewed by Soviet leaders as an indicator of Germany's willingness to put trade relations on a basis that would be safe from political ups and downs.

Since the Soviet government has not only signed the cooperation treaty but is faced with the onus of lending it economic substance, its importance is probably considered even greater in Moscow than in the Federal Republic of Germany.

As opposed to the Soviet leadership, the Bonn government can only support the Soviet Union through trade policy, having to leave it to business and free competition to impart substance to the treaty.

The declarations of intent in the treaty are therefore of considerable importance viewed from Moscow's vantage-point. A long tug-of-war in the Bundestag would have aroused Soviet mistrust.

Even at the meeting of the joint economic affairs commission, the problem of practical implementation was an important subject of discussion.

Meanwhile, there are signs that this is forthcoming. The gradual cintinuation of the major steel mill project near Kursk is part of the programme, Korff and Salzgitter having signed contracts early this year and Krupp being involved in negotiations for the next stage in construction.

The two parties are still haggling over a DM80m difference in price ideas, but this is bound to be settled.

Work is also in progress on a chain of chemical works for the manufacture of man-made fibres. Some of the links of the chain have already been completed and others are being worked on.

German companies are negotiating on a petrochemical plant in Tomsk to produce methanol and similar oil derivatives.

In this connection, the Soviet side has paid more attention than hitherto to the clause of the treaty stipulating barter deals only if they are in the interests of both parties.

They have asked in Germany how this multi-billion deutschemark project should look to facilitate barter deals with German industry. This is no longer a categorical question but more a discussion between partners seeking a sensible solution.

The aluminium plant in Sajan is also still under discussion although there are signs indicating that this project might go to the French.

Among the major projects that would fit under the heading "long-term cooperation" are plans for a gas purification installation in the Astrakhan area.

The Federal Republic of Germany is also interested in a large-scale factory for the manufacture of insecticides. And since groups of experts from both countries have long been involved in talks on the exploitation of kaolin in the Ukraine, this project is also still simmering.

Due to the Soviet Union's enormous need for large-diameter pipes, it is likely that additional orders in that sector will materialise next year because Siberia is increasingly becoming the source of supplies for the Soviet industry in the European part of the country.

In connection with further oil exploration in Siberia, the Soviet Union has to use modern technology to be more efficient in exploiting natural resources. Technological cooperation in oil seems just around the corner.

With a view to the 80s and completion of the Baikal-Amur railway line, new mining installations for non-ferrous metals such as copper and tin in the Udokan region have also become a topic of discussion.

Cooperation in mechanical engineering and in the Third World can of course only be intensified following thorough preparatory work.

But many cooperation elements of the treaty have already begun in practice, among them, in the agricultural sector, experiments with German tractors and seed in the Kuban, and this is likely to lead to orders.

Action has been taken to include medium-sized Soviet businesses, also mentioned in the treaty, by supporting measures.

The Moscow branch of Deutsche Bank is expanding to enable it to support medium-sized businesses in their market research work and by helping them to establish contacts with foreign trade organisations.

The treaty is essential in this connection because of its high-level effect on Soviet foreign trade organisations and Cabinet members.

It is easier to embark on a new venture with a trading partner who has demonstrated his willingness to cooperate over a period of 25 years.

This might mean little by German standards, but it has its effect on the Soviet market.

It can also be assumed that, given similar tenders from other countries, companies of a country viewed as a particularly reliable trading partner will be favoured.

Despite Soviet efforts to balance foreign trade, German exports to the Soviet Union rose considerably in the first half of this year. This is also partially attributable to Brezhnev's wish to demonstratively lend material substance to the treaty concluded in Bonn.

Moscow stepped up gold sales to obtain foreign exchange and Germany's exports to the Soviet Union exceeded estimates by all experts on trade with the East bloc.

Based on such experience, it would be premature to play down the potential inherent in the treaty. No-one in the 60s would have dreamed that German-Soviet trade would reach today's volume.

(Handelsblatt, 10 October 1978)

■ **ENVIRONMENT**

Nuclear reactor issue opens fissure in coalition unity

The ruling coalition of Social and Free Democrats in Bonn has been sorely embarrassed by the SPD-FDP coalition in nearby Düsseldorf, the state capital of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Düsseldorf FDP Ministers Riemer and Hirsch obstinately refuse to agree to the construction of a fast breeder reactor. This is more than a minor difference of opinion; it is a major challenge.

Their counter-proposal to build a plutonium destruction unit threatens both the benefit that might be derived from seven-figure sums spent on nuclear research and Bonn's entire concept of future energy supplies.

Plutonium, the bone of contention, is a highly toxic metal that can be used to manufacture nuclear warheads. It is a by-product of conventional light-water reactors.

Natural uranium consists mainly of uranium 238, which is of no use in nuclear fission, but can be converted into plutonium by neutron bombardment.

Plutonium is a fissile material that is used as nuclear fuel. The fast breeder is designed to carry out this conversion systematically, producing fresh plutonium as it uses the old.

Limited reserves of natural uranium would then still be available for use in power reactors centuries hence.

Or so scientists hope, but the sodium used as a reactor coolant is the problem. It has tricky properties, and the reactor core is liable to react swiftly, so that substantially higher material and safety requirements prove necessary.

The chief drawback is the larger quantity of plutonium, the reactor and warhead fuel, produced.

After lengthy debate the possibilities were felt to outweigh the drawbacks and a decision was taken to build a pilot plant. In the past this Bonn government viewpoint was shared by the North Rhine-Westphalian authorities in Düsseldorf.

Düsseldorf gave planning permission for two construction stages and the buildings hve been completed. Not long ago Interior Minister Hirsch sent in thousands of policemen to defend the Kalkar site from nuclear demonstrators.

Yet the demonstrators' arguments against the fast breeder reactor were exactly the same as those now fielded by Herr Hirsch and North Rhine-Westphalian FDP leader Horst-Ludwig Riemer.

An argument is not necessarily bad merely because it only occurs to politicians at the hustings, but Herr Riemer's claim that his Free Democrats have changed their mind because demand for power is not increasing at the rate expected a few years ago can clearly be dismissed as eyewash.

Fast breeders are not designed to supply energy in the immediate future. Their role will be to bridge the gap in the 90s when oil reserves are on the decline.

The arguments advanced by Herr Hirsch's opponents within the Social and Free Democrats are not much better. The number of jobs created or the expense must not be the crucial factor in deciding whether or not to go ahead with such a major technology.

Nuclear demonstratos have long been aware of the crucial problem which, it is fair to say, Herr Riemer has only just acknowledged. Safety problems can be solved but not the problem of the enormous amounts of plutonium that will suddenly be available all over the world.

Not at Kalkar, mind you. Kalkar will not breed, it will merely use plutonium fuel. But it will experiment with the breeder technique, and a ban on Kalkar would mean the end of breeder reactor development in West Germany.

The decision for or against fast breeder reactors, for or against dabbling in plutonium, ought to be taken at the highest level: in the Bundestag.

The breeder reactor's opponents must say how they propose to brid he the energy gap. Coal alone is not enough. It already costs too much to convert into electric power and will be too valuable as a raw material for other purposes once petroleum stocks are depleted.

Alternatives such as nuclear fusion or solar power are still utopian.

A final decision on large-scale introduction of the breeder reactor may be postponed, but Bonn ought to maintain the option of research and development.

Wolfgang Mauersberg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 6 October 1978)

New pollution penalties

Sentences of up to ten years' imprisonment are to be passed for serious environmental offences, Bonn Justice Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel announced in Munich on 2 October.

Poisoning a reservoir with the result that water has to be rationed or supplies may have to be halted temporarily was, he suggested, an offence in this category.

A health hazard for large numbers of people arising from mishandling of radioactive substances was another offence that might warrant a prison sentence of up to ten years.

The Environmental Offences Bill drawn up by the Bonn Cabinet last month is unlikely to come into force before 1980, he told the Bavarian Nature Conservancy.

But once enacted it will make environmental conservation no less important than the protection of private property or personal honour, he said.

Pollution of water resources was no less serious an offence than theft or embezzlement. Sentences of up to five years' gaol will be imposed even in cases where there has been no immediate health hazard.

Herr Vogel noted that environment offences are on the increase. Last year 28,000 complaints were investigated. But existing regulations are inadequate, uncoordinated and full of loopholes.

The new regulations too will be unable to avoid leaving a few loopholes in respect of atmospheric pollution and noise.

He welcomed schemes in *a number of* Länder to brief police officers and public prosecutors on environmental problems. He also recommended police and public prosecutors to take on ecologists as consultants.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 3 October 1978)

Bonn plans rewards for low-noise vehicles

Low-noise cars should be exempted from road tax and low-noise trucks and buses allowed to run at times and in places where they are currently banned, says Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart Baum.

These were two of the ideas in a long-term noise abatement plan, details of which he announced in Baden-Baden. The proposals were drafted by a Ministerial working party of 250 specialists representing all social groups.

Hundreds of thousands of people are exposed to decibel counts that constitute a health hazard and millions more have to put up with noise levels that are extremely uncomfortable.

People on the lower rungs of the social ladder are the chief victims. "A noise-free living environment is fast becoming an expensive luxury," he says.

His noise abatement plan, heralded repeatedly during the Hesse election campaign, is based on the principle that noise must, wherever possible, be eliminated at source.

Difficult, time-wasting and expensive noise abatement measures will then no longer be necessary.

By 1985 he hopes to reduce drastically the statutory maximum perceived noise decibel count for motor vehicles. After intermediate cuts by two to six decibels for cars, trucks and buses the limit will be an inexorable 80 decibels.

But the final say, as for motorcycles and mopeds, is with the EEC. Herr Baum is none too keen on low-capacity, high-rov motorcycles either.

Current regulations govern cubic capacity for tax and insurance (and licence) purposes but impose no restrictions on rpm or speed.

Road traffic regulations are to be amended. Herr Baum plans to impose restrictions on rail transport, inland shipping and motor boats too.

At present there are no noise limits for rail and water transport, but legislation is to be drafted without delay to enable the authorities to impose speed limits and operational bans for noise reasons.

Existing regulations are largely satisfactory in respect of noise on building-sites, he says. What is needed is coordination of Common Market noise requirements in the construction sector.

The need is urgent in view of the growing reliance of construction machinery manufacturers on the export trade and the increasing international ties in building machinery.

Next year the Minister is to publish a report on noise as measured and perceived by residents in urban areas.

Ulrich Lüke

(Die Welt, 3 October 1978)

■ **RESEARCH**

Multi-layer collector may hold key to harnessing the sun

Solar power is discounted by many as a potential source of energy in Germany because the sun does not shine regularly or long enough.

True enough, all solar converters currently available share what is a serious drawback in countries where sunlight is not a dependable commodity: they function worse or not at all when the sun is not shining.

Direct sunlight makes life easier for solar research scientists and engineers. Haze, fumes or cloud may not prevent solar energy from getting through, but direct sunlight can be converted more efficiently in solar cells and the like.

Direct light can also be played on to small surfaces by mirrors and lenses, which is indispensable if solar power is to be generated economically.

A new kind of collector now promises to function not only when skies are blue but also when the sun is out of sight. Diffused light can be concentrated on a few square centimetres of high-grade solar cell that efficiently convert light into energy.

This opens up the prospect of solar power playing a major role in meeting energy requirements in the foreseeable future even in countries such as West Germany where sunlight is often the exception, not the rule.

By the turn of the century solar energy may now account not for one or two per cent of the power fed into the national grid but 10 or 20 per cent, specialists claim.

The new technique was first discussed at a major scientific gathering this summer in Washington by the Photovoltaic Specialists' Conference.

The principle is disarmingly simple. Diffused sunlight shines on a thin, transparent perspex plate where it is absorbed by colour molecules and the energy reflected as fluorescent light.

This fluorescence is not absorbed, but in accordance with the laws of refraction 75 per cent is retained by the plate until it finds its way out via one of the narrow sides of the plate, where it promptly hits the solar cells at full strength.

Four US research institutes are currently experimenting with fluorescence collectors. They are the Ford Research Laboratory, Caltech and the research divisions of Owens and Mobil-Tyco.

But a West German research laboratory probably leads the field. The Fraunhofer Institute of Applied Solid-State Physics in Freiburg, Federal Republic of Germany, is the only research facility in Western Europe working on the new technique.

A few weeks after the Washington conference Professor Adolf Goetzberger and his Freiburg research staff were granted US patent rights for their multi-layer collector, which is probably the most interesting development yet.

If colour is to be used to generate fluorescent light, the Freiburg physicists reasoned, then the light might as well be tailormade to suit the various solar cells.

Cell efficiency can be increased markedly if cells are required only to convert light within a certain frequency rather than the entire sunlight spectrum.

So Professor Goetzberger and his associates superimposed three perspex plates. Each absorbs only part of the diffused sunlight, emitting at the edges green, red and infrared light, say, each being colours that ensure maximum

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operational efficiency of the solar cells with which they are coupled.

In practice the collector will be a rectangular isosceles triangle with a hypotenuse one to two metres long. This is the edge where the solar cells are housed; the other two reflect light back into the perspex.

This is claimed to be an ideal combination of expensive and inexpensive parts. It will use few solar cells, which are expensive, and very little colour pigment, which is also costly, but relatively large quantities of inexpensive perspex.

The Freiburg physicists claim solar power can be generated from their device at a fiftieth of the cost from other solar cells. It will definitely be competitive with other energy sources.

The collector can also be used to supply process heat, since 15 per cent at most of the energy input is converted into electric power. The reminder has to be piped off in the coolant.

So the end-product seems likely to be a hybrid generating electric power and giving off heat in a practicable ratio.

There is yet another reason why the fluorescence collector could prove a commercial success. West German industry would not need to adjust much to mass-produce the new device.

The Federal Republic already has an efficient semiconductor industry capable of supplying the relatively small number of high-grade solar cells required.

West German dyestuffs and synthetics manufacturers are more than equal to the task of supplying the pigment and plastic.

So the new technique will be a serious competitor with the research project aimed at mass-producing solar cells so inexpensively that extensive areas can be laid out with them at reasonable expense.

Manufacturers are not yet in a position to mass-produce cells at the low price this project requires.

It will be a while before fluorescent collectors make their breakthrough though. Scientists have yet to arrive at the ideal design for either the collector or the solar cell.

But in comparison with other alternative energy prospects this state of affairs could change dramatically. "We do not anticipate insuperable technical difficulties," Professor Goetzberger says, "and we shall know in two years at the latest whether the project is commercially viable."

There is talk of a research project that will be financed by Bonn. It will entail collaboration of Fraunhofer Institute physicists, Freiburg University chemists and research staff of the big three chemicals manufacturers BASF, Bayer and Hoechst.

These three hold the key to a solution of one of the crucial problems: a dyestuff with the ideal combination of stability and spectral properties.

West German research scientists do not have much time left to capitalise on their laboratory work and transform into a marketable product.

The US Patent Office granted the Freiburg institute patent rights without so much as a whimper, but almost simultaneously Congress enacted legislation to promote the conversion of solar energy into electric power by means of solar cells.

Over the next ten years the US government will be investing $1,500m in solar cell research.

Franz Frisch

(Die Zeit, 13 October 1978)

New polar institute to break Antarctic ice

Frankfurter Neue Presse

Bonn Research Minister Volker Hauff christened the Alfred Wegener Polar Research Institute on 9 October from the 14th floor of his Ministry building with a reference to the "best traditions of German polar research."

The institute is named after a German explorer born in 1880 who died in the frozen wastes of Greenland in 1930.

It and an Antarctic base will be Bonn's initial contribution now the Federal Republic of Germany is to join the 19-member scientific organisation set up in 1959 to coordinate Antarctic research.

As an active member West Germany will, to quote Herr Hauff, "as a civilised country play its part in exploring an as yet largely unknown continent."

New scientific eequipment and procedures are to be tested in the extreme cold of the Antarctic. Food reserves, especially the Antarctic shrimp known as krill, will be researched.

Last January the Bonn Cabinet decided, on the recommendation of Research Minister Hans Matthöfer, who now holds the finance portfolio, to join the Antarctic pact as an ordinary member.

This decision has been approved by both houses of the Bonn parliament and West Germany will probably take up membership before the end of the year.

In mid-September Volker Hauff circulated a Cabinet minute recommending an increase in status to consultative member, entailing a commitment to active research in the Antarctic.

Bonn is to establish its Antarctic base in the 1979/80 polar summer at temperatures of -10 to -12 centigrade. The base will be at a latitude of nearly 80 degrees south on the Filchner shelf.

It will be accessible to icegoing vessels and have an airstrip for supply aircraft.

In summer 30 scientists and technologists will work at the camp. During the more than six-month polar winter at temperatures as low as -50, a skeleton crew of six or seven will man the base.

Kiel, Hamburg, Bremen and Münster universities have offered the Alfred Wegener Institute a home, but a decision on its location has yet to be taken.

It will be reached before the year's end in consultation with the Max Planck Society, the German Research Association and the universities, Herr Hauff says.

Next year a supply ship will be commissioned. The bill for the institute, the base and the ship will be roughly DM100m; running costs about DM30m a year, the Research Ministry estimates.

Initially Bonn has no hopes of the Antarctic research project providing access to raw materials. Herr Hauff points out that the Antarctic treaty bans commodity exploitation until 1989.

Industry has yet to show interest. Herr Hauff does not plan to fly to the Antarctic to open the base. It is enough for Bonn to have a foothold on the ice, he says; a foot will do, it does not have to be an entire Minister.

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(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 October 1978)

Atlantic
South Georgia (Brit)
Falkland Is.
Argent Lighthouse
CHILE
Argentina
Great Britain
Norway
Ocean
Indian
Kerguelen Is (Fr.)
Heard Is. (Aust)
MAWSON
AUSTRALIA
Georg South Pole
Amundson-Scott (Am)
AMUNDSEN-SCOTT (am.)
SIPLE (am.)
BYRD
Vostock (Russ.)
WILKES
Pacific
Shelf-ice
MC MURDO (am.)
Magnetic South Pole
South Polar Circle
France
Australia
New Zealand
1000km
U Uranium
Cu Copper
C Carbon
O Oil
● Research station

Erwin Butschan

■ THE ARTS

Brecht stages another comeback in Frankfurt

Dons and critics, directors and dramatists convened in Frankfurt to review and debate the work of Bertolt Brecht, who would have been 80 this year.

For years it has been fashionable to proclaim that people are tired of Brecht, but the Frankfurt gathering showed this is humbug in more ways than one.

Far from tiredness setting in, there are signs of growing interest in the Marxist poet, playwright and propounder of the dramatic theory of alienation.

Brecht died 22 years ago yet is still considered provocative. Why else would opening speaker Walter Wallmann, Christian Democratic mayor of Frankfurt, have chosen to voice political reservations about the content and slant of the Brecht oeuvre?

He referred to Brecht's "weaknesses," saying that Brecht called for "the unqualified subjection of the individual to the dictates of an organisation" and reduced "reality to Marxist theory."

Mayor Wallmann accused Brecht of reducing "all human conflict to the question of ownership" and deforming individuals to "types."

The mayor was not addressing a sympathetic audience and he was booed and heckled. Members of the audience unfurled a banner proclaiming that Brecht today would have *Berufsverbot* (the alleged "career ban" on political extremists in the public service).

For the remainder of the conference little was seen or heard of such topical references, disappointingly in view of bids to ban Brecht from school readers in some parts of the country.

The first day's debate was dominated by university teachers of German literature, with the emphasis on Brecht's didactic plays and the Caucasian Chalk Circle.

But instead of the usual philological bickering only minor corrections were made to the received view. Klaus Völker and Hans-Dieter Zimmermann, for instance, criticised the Caucasian Chalk Circle from an ecological viewpoint.

They noted that Brecht was wholeheartedly and unreservedly in favour of exploiting natural resources to the hill. Nowadays his sanguine belief in progress looks a little dubious, they feel.

The following day's debate between dramatists and directors showed that theatrical tiredness of Brecht is a complex phenomenon.

Brecht's major plays and his alienation theory of drama may now be regarded as inadequate and outmoded, but this was seen to be mainly due to personal difficulties encountered by his critics.

Theatre people are unsure of themselves now that new issues have gained currency. What with ecology and women's lib they suspect that Brecht's clear-cut diagnosis may be insufficient.

The sovereign manner in which the man who may well have been the century's greatest writer for the theatre staged fundamental issues of the age in parable form is evidently still disconcerting.

Young directors tend to take a short-sighted view. Jürgen Flimm, for instance, who will soon be literary manager at the Schauspielhaus in Cologne, had this to say:

"Political conditions in this country are so lousy it is hard to say who describes them best: Botho Strauss or Brecht in his Galilei."

Veteran Frankfurt director Harry Buckwitz came to Brecht's defence by pointing out that Brecht may be more effective with a wider public.

In the 50s Buckwitz maintained a steady stream of Brecht productions in the Federal Republic of Germany despite character assassination and calls for a ban because Brecht was in East Berlin.

He claimed that not theatregoers but directors are tired of Brecht. In an age when the director is king what is needed is material, and Brecht, he pointedly noted, does not deliver the goods for a progressive director with a personal touch.

Productive development is clearly a problem. Brecht laid down clear instructions how his plays were to be performed and his literary heirs and publishers have painstakingly ensured that no-one leaves the straight and narrow.

Brecht's performing rights have for years been a cause of continual intra-German nuisance.

So although Brecht would seem to be as popular as ever with the theatregoing public but offers promising young directors little scope, Claus Peymann saw a solution to the dilemma.

When his company was in political difficulty in Stuttgart, having been accused by a conservative Land government of sympathising with urban guerrillas, he had reverted to Brecht.

It was, he said, like falling back on the Bible when times are hard. So he hoped to gain a fresh insight into Brecht from this angle.



Bertolt Brecht: plenty of life left. (Photo: Suhrkamp Verlag)

The Frankfurt gathering was not intended to compete in any way with the official ceremonies held in the GDR seven months ago.

International visitors, especially from the Third World, held the stage in East Berlin, with programmes for the public accompanying the specialist events.

In Frankfurt West German intellectuals were virtually on their own, partly because speakers invited from the GDR, such as Heiner Müller and Werner Hecht, were refused exit permits and unable to attend.

But the two German gatherings have shown that Brecht is still very much alive and kicking, figuratively speaking, at the traces of being dismissed as dead in the West and embalmed *as a state* poet in the East.

Otto F. Riewoldt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 4 October 1978)

Hilsenrath's dark Night of wartime suffering

Edgar Hilsenrath's first novel *Nacht* (Night), an epic tale of wartime horror, has for a motto the Old Testament verse "For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee" (Isaiah 54,7).

Given its subject matter, the deportation of Rumanian Jews to a ghetto in the Ukraine, Hilsenrath must be either a fatalist with unshakable faith or a cynic of the highest order.

He is clearly the former. His Night is black in black, a total eclipse of the sun, night everlasting.

Hilsenrath first made a name for himself last year in the Federal Republic of Germany with his satire The Nazi and the Barber, so the Anglo-American reading public have a head's start.

The Nazi and the Barber was the tale of dyed-in-the-wool Nazi Max Schulz who after the war assumes the identity of a dead Jewish barber Itzig Finkelstein and does so to such effect that he even succeeds in emigrating to Israel.

It is a tall story but a good yarn. His earlier Night is equally obviously not a yarn. It is told by a narrator who is keen to tell the truth and nothing but the truth: a story of human misery based on his own wartime experiences.

Edgar Hilsenrath was born in Leipzig in 1926. His father was a Jewish businessman. A few months before *Kristallnacht* in 1938 he and his brother were sent for safety's sake to their grandparents in Bukovina, a province of Rumania from 1918 to 1940.

They would be safe in the foothills of the Eastern Carpathians, or so their mother reasoned. But a fascist regime seized power in Rumania too, and persecution of the Jews soon followed.

In an autobiographical appendix to the novel Hilsenrath reminds those of us who tend to forget what life was like:

"When Nazi Germany invaded Russia Rumanian troops fought alongside the Germans. In August 1941, in the Treaty of Tiraspol, Hitler gave his Rumanian allies a slice of the Russian cake.

"Rumania was given a slice of the Ukraine from the Dniester to the Bug. The Rumanians called it Transnistria.

"In October 1941 the Rumanian government decided to deport the entire Jewish populationof Bessarabia and Bukovina to this newly-occupied province.

"We were sent packing on 14 October in trains rolling eastward. Our destination was the Jewish ghetto of the ruined Ukrainian city of Moghilev-Podolsk on the Dniester."

Hilsenrath managed to escape when the Red Army reoccupied the ghetto. He made his way to Bucharest and travelled on a forged passport via Bulgaria, Turkey, Syria and Lebanon to Palestine.

His nearest and dearest also survived. After having spent many years in New York he now lives in Berlin.

In Night we are shown the Prokow ghetto and a mass of humanity fighting for survival, which in practice meant somewhere to sleep among the ruins so as not to be picked up as a vagrant and deported.

Survival also meant coming by a handful or so to eat as the day went by: potatoes or potato peel, a little maize flour or, with luck, a couple of eggs to stave off the worst hunger.

The body has to be kept going. In circumstances such as these humans are like wolves to each other. No quarter is asked or given. There is no such thing as solidarity in misery.

The author describes the horror in slow motion. His words even convey the impression of a never-ending filmlet. Other novels may portray development, he portrays static existence.

Even death is seen as merely another sensation rather than as the final step in the development of an individual. It is viewed matter-of-factly in a world where people drop dead like flies.

A central character among the starvelings is Ranek, unquestionably a criminal of want (but does want excuse everything?). He is an unsympathetic figure who elbows his way to the place to sleep which means another night snatched from the jaws of deportation.

He even rifles corpses to find items he can barter for food, the ghetto being governed by a Stone Age economic system: a pair of old shoes will buy enough food to last out another day.

Ranek is twice deported and twice returns from the presumed dead. He finally dies in the ghetto of typhoid, like so many more before him.

Law in the ghetto is the law of the strong. There is still a kind of class society headed by cafe owner Itzig Lupu and black marketeer Dvorski. They manage to do good business among the poverty.

The upper crust are easily identified. They still have surnames, whereas the poorest of the poor have only interchangeable nicknames such as the Old Woman or the Redhead.

Everyday life in the wartime ghetto is mean enough, but Hilsenrath also describes a number of really dreadful goings-on, such as the man who was drowned in a latrine or the gold teeth that were hammered out of the mouths of the dead or the old lady who worked as a prostitute to pay for her son's body to be shipped home for burial.

Human dignity is cant in the ghetto, but despite the misery its inmates retain a powerful will to survive. This is how the Old Lady explains it:

"Even here there is such a thing as happiness. There is still the happiness of people dying their deaths of cold who find a warm blanket, the happiness of hungry folk who find bread and lonely people who find love."

But is this not an overdose of age-old Levantine fatalism that deafens ears which might otherwise hearken to the message of the Internationale?

A single person in the entire novel manages to retain an impressive humanity. Debora, the wife of Ranek's brother Fred, testifies to almost superhuman sacrifice in the loving care she shows for her sick husband.

She carried Fred a long distance on her back as they headed for the ghetto, sooner that than abandon him to the hangmen.

She later takes care of an orphaned child whose future she will defend to

Continued on page 11

■ MEDIA

Mass survey explodes some reading habit myths

A detailed survey of reading habits in the Federal Republic of Germany was commissioned by the Bertelsmann Foundation in early 1977 from Infratest and cost DM 350,000.

Data from about 2,800 interviews on 300 pages serve primarily to satisfy the needs of media research. But some correct commonly-held misconceptions.

Adults in West Germany and West Berlin are not as unread as generally assumed. Ninety-three per cent reach for a book at least once a year, 44 per cent once a day. Ninety-four per cent of households have at least one book.

What sort of books are they? Are we still a nation of book-readers?

The authors of the study view the book, without attaching to it "any specific cultural value," as a "transportation vehicle for heterogeneous contents." Their questions concerned not "the book" but a total of 35 different kinds of book. As a result, they do not speak of "reading" but of "using."

It turned out that reference works come first. Forty-six per cent of the population use them, followed by cookbooks, specialised vocational books, textbooks, "home doctor" books, do-it-yourself books and so on.

Fiction, and then only the humble whodunnit, has slumped to tenth place, while modern literature of some literary value occupies place 19, being read by 11 per cent of the population.

Poetry and classical literature in places 31 and 32 are read by only six per cent

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each. Philosophy and science fiction range at the tail end.

Who reads more and who less? The findings of the study come as no surprise: the lower the social status and the higher the age the less are books being "used."

This applies to all 35 categories of books, with three exceptions: "Use" of romantic and *Heimatroman* novels (nostalgic novels glorifying the good old days) increases with diminishing social status and growing age. Religious books are read increasingly with age, regardless of social status.

The social status element is particularly pronounced where "higher literature" is concerned. At the top level of the five-strata model underlying the study modern literature is read 23 times as often as in the lowest level. As for philosophy, the quota drops from 11 per cent to zero. If there is any tendency underlying this study, then only that it wants to disprove the "substitution hypothesis."

This pompous term simply means the contention that television has supplanted the book as the most important medium or, to put it more succinctly, that it has captured readers, having at the same time had a detrimental effect on person-to-person relations.

The authors of the study term Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's suggestion that there be no television one day a week "bizarre."

The same applies to Hans Magnus Enzenberger's thesis that the book (he did not mean dictionaries or do-it-yourself books but works of literature) was increasingly being displaced by the "industrial products" of media factories.

In the context of such a study, the term "bizarre" must be understood as bitingly polemic.

The study proves that four times more is spent watching television than reading books: 69½ hours per month, to be exact. Roughly the same figure applies to radio, compared with only 18½ hours for books (a figure which roughly equals that for newspapers).

The number of television sets increased 13-fold in the past 20 years. But the spread of other media has also increased, although at a much slower rate.

Thus for instance, three-and-a-half times more books are bought today than 20 years ago. It has also been proven that considerable impulses for the "use" of books emanate from television. The substitution hypothesis can thus no longer be maintained in a straightforward form.

Past decades have brought an enormous increase in leisure time. This primarily benefited television, which has become the most important medium, and to a much smaller extent the other media.

But even this "small extent" has brought gains for those media, except the cinema which was hardest hit by TV. *It is easy to imagine what would have* happened to the other media had television not made its appearance simultaneously with growing leisure time.

Television did not replace the book; it only displaced it to the periphery.

This substantiates a naive suspicion borne out by the figures of the study — a suspicion which in the media research goes under the term "marginalisation hypothesis."

The other hypothesis, that television has had a detrimental effect on person-to-person relations, has in no way been disproved by this study, notwithstanding its optimism in this respect.

It is correct and has been substantiated by an Allensbach Institute study that readers of books are the happier and more optimistic people.

And they have every reason to be happy and optimistic, since they are younger and earn more. This correlation, however, does not tell us which is the cause and which the effect, in other words whether the reading of books makes happy or whether only happy people read books.

It is also correct that people who read much also make more use of other media than those who read little. But the heavy reader watches less television than his non-reading counterpart.

As a result, the data now presented do not permit us to conclude that the more one reads the happier one is in person-to-person relations.

The fact that 12 per cent would like to socialise more, 13 per cent would like to engage more in active sports and 24 per cent would like to spend more time outdoors (22 per cent having stated that they would also like to read more books) as opposed to only nine per cent who would like to have more time for TV does indicate that the public feels a certain shortfall in reading and personal communication and a virtual saturation with TV.

The study promotes no new vistas — neither those of the decline of the era of reading nor those of its revival.

As for the future, it roughly states that, unless something unexpected happens, everything will remain as tolerably intolerable as hitherto.

Dieter E. Zimmer

(Die Zeit, 6 October 1978)

Continued from page 10

the limits of tenacity. We see Debora with the child in her arms as the novel ends. She is the sole chink of light in the darkness of Night.

Hilsenrath tells his tale in spine-chilling cold blood. He sticks to the clinical, harsh imperfect, seldom switching into the less inflexible historic present.

There are no cries of anger or disgust, there is nothing to indicate accusations such as: "Just look what your fascism was guilty of!"

There is not a word of reflection, just one image after another, each left to its own devices and gaining in power as a result.

There is no appeal to the unconscious emotion, everything is aimed straight at reason and common sense — and a good thing too!

He does not resort to sentimental tricks to persuade his readers to show compassion. They feel pity because they draw conclusions of their own from the facts.

Books sometimes have a chequered career. Hilsenrath's Night was first published in West Germany in 1964 by Kindler but proved so controversial that it was virtually withdrawn, selling a paltry 791 copies.

The US edition has sold over half a million, so it is high time it was relaunched. The novel's publishers, Braun of Cologne, are a small but ambitious firm and have started with a print run of 50,000. It will be a hard day's mourning into night.

Niels Höpfner

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 9 October 1978)

Edgar Hilsenrath: *Nacht* (Night), published by Literarischer Verlag Braun, Cologne, 1978; 512pp, DM34.

West Berlin gets own newsreel

The decline of the four weekly cinema newsreels which once competed with each other on the German film market lasted 20 years, and now only one is left, and even it is almost impossible to track down.

In early 1977 there were still three ten-minute newsreels, *UFA dabei, Blick in die Welt* and *Fox tönende Wochenschau*. But cinema-owners gradually stopped showing them because they bored the audience.

An "alternative newsreel" has been launched in West Berlin. It began in 1977 when film-makers joined forces to record all important Berlin events in a weekly or monthly newsreel for cinemas, their guiding principle being "make newsreels for all of us!"

The first reels with, among other things, the activities of democratic citizens' initiatives, were an enormous success at the Bali cinema whereupon its owner, Manfred Salzgeber, decided to enter two of the reels for the Mannheim Film Festivals.

The newsreel team want to present topical social problems, citizens' initiatives, strikes, important exhibitions and so on, in all instances cooperating with those affected.

As long ago as 1928 German film-makers attempted to make an alternative newsreel as a counterweight to the untruthful newsreels of the major movie concerns.

In 1928, at the first function of the "National Association for Cinematic Art" in Berlin, they intended to unmask the bourgeois newsreel as totally biased by presenting an alternative.

Participants in the project, which was banned by the police, were, among others, Heinrich Mann, Erwin Piscator and G. W. Pabst.

Heinrich Mann, spokesman for the popular film, described the suppressed experiment of a newsreel "that would show several sides of events or at least show everything from both sides, which alone makes an event interesting, from the right and from the left.

"One could also say from the front and from behind. How does the world look in an official speech and how does it really look? Or what happens on the left of the guards of honour, enthusiastically welcomed exotic dignitaries and luxury automobiles on display?"

At that time the Social Democratic Party produced the "Emelka Newsreel" which could, in a way, be termed an alternative. But this had to be discontinued under pressure from the film industry in 1931.

Germany had a genuine alternative newsreel between 1930 and 1933, produced by *Weltfilm GmbH* and entitled *Welt und Arbeit* (World and Work), with reports depicting the true situation of the jobless masses. *Welt und Arbeit* had to be discontinued when the Nazis came to power.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, too, there have been repeated attempts to produce a newsreel that would show social realities.

In 1957 author Hans Magnus Enzensberger came up with the blueprint for a newsreel model run by a public corporation, but German newsreel producers failed to go along.

Cabaret star Wolfgang Neuss was sued for slander in 1963 when he criticised newsreels, saying: "The makers of the three newsreels are not citizens with opinions of their own; they are yes-men, government stooges and East bloc haters."

Later he said ironically: "I take everything back and maintain the opposite: German newsreels are witty, entertaining and self-critical and I feel much better thinking that the few movie-goers who watch newsreels will put me on trial rather than the powerful newsreel makers."

In a 1960 Bundestag debate on newsreels, Social Democrat Ulrich Lohmar asked whether "it is meaningful to convey to the movie-goer a quasi-idea of politics and whether it would not be better to embark on a course successfully pursued by TV reporters by providing interesting and truthful records of our era."

Harald Budde

(Vorwärts, 28 September 1978)

■ SOCIETY

Historians are told they neglect general reader

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Lack of historic knowledge and awareness was one of the major themes at the Historians' Congress in Hamburg.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's censure to that effect has been countered by Gerhard A. Ritter, chairman of the Confederation of Historians Associations, who said that things were shaping up again and that the time when political science and sociology were displacing the teaching of history in schools is over, the subject being about to rise again in its old glory.

Another fundamental theme was the crisis which the actual writing of history was undergoing.

For some time now, German historians (and sociologists) have stood accused of ignoring the public and leaving it uninformed. Some contend that historians work in an ivory tower, having only the small circle of experts in mind and making sure that "no popular history" and "no journalistic style" isues from their esoteric domain.

Lacking courage for sweeping interpretation, they laud specialisation and devotion to detail, said Joachim C. Fest.

The reader is confronted with historians fearful of imaginative ideas – a fear compensated for by stilted insider terminology.

This terminology and the obsession of up and coming historians with covering their backs for every word they write down by referring to a higher authority in countless footnotes, declaring all this as devotion to the meticulousness of the researcher – all this put together characterises the majority of German historians.

Any American professor of history writing or lecturing in such a dry and unimaginative style would lose his job on the spot.

Granted, there is a certain commercialisation in America, and we in the Federal Republic of Germany pride ourselves on having kept this element out of our academic life. But German historians and sociologists can afford such an attitude only because they are the beneficiaries of a highly subsidised academic life.

This is also the criticism expressed by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in his address to the Congress. He urged the historians to provide popular historic literature because otherwise this neglected field would be usurped by ideological extremists.

Herr Schmidt used the following simile: As the strength or weakness of religious belief has never been reserved for theologians, so the strength or weakness of historic awareness must not be restricted to historians.

The historians must have found it embarrassing that Chancellor Schmidt censured them for neglecting their educational function by failing to satisfy the need for interpretation, as for instance in connection with the Hitler era.

The best German books on this subject, he disrespectfully pointed out, were not written by professional historians but by informed journalists such as Sebastian Haffner and Joachim C. Fest.

Gerhard A. Ritter took the floor as the main counsel for the defence. Specialisation, he said, using the word as a euphemism for the obsession with detail, results from the division of labour which has become necessary in history due to the enormous extension of knowledge and source material and which we cannot forgo without loss of exactitude.

This thesis is very doubtful. Should it really be impossible to be both exact and readable? Does "journalistic style" (let alone a literary style) preclude scientific communication?

But the Hamburg Congress in no way bogged down in terminological communication difficulties. Instead it attempted to demonstrate the vitality of the profession through an impressive programme. The range of subjects in the various work groups was enormous, extending from the origins of Greek democracy via the beginnings of statehood in mediaeval times all the way to post-Stalinist society and the history of medicine.

This demonstration of new vitality was convincing even for the observer who could attend only a small part of the programme.

An unacceptable facet of such congresses is the curtailment of discussion time and thus of the time available to air differences of opinion.

The "Establishment" within the profession salved their conscience by being reticent to come to the fore and by terming such meetings a "market" for new talent.

There is little to be said against this. But the crop of a few dozen papers read was mediocre.

Provocative views now accepted

Much that was offered was meagre. Fritz Fischer's appearance after a severe illness was a very special event – but only because Fischer doggedly stuck to his once provocative theses. But they have now been fully digested and are no longer provocative.

The closing speech by Wolfgang Fischer on "The World Economy in the 20th Century" was rather embarrassing. Have historians become so insecure as to need such juggling with economic data to prove that they are with it?

The work groups bombarded the audience with a plethora of paper without providing enough time for discussion.

One exception (among others) was the work group which attempted to fathom the conditions and effects of the founding of the German Reich in 1871. This revived the tradition-laden discussion on Bismarck's pragmatism and the voluntarism of the opposition in a most stimulating way.

The audience was animated to ponder history. The next congress is scheduled for March 1980 in Würzburg.

Peter Diehl-Thiele

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 October 1978)



VIPs at Tutzing: Karl Carstens, Bundestag speaker, Helmut Schmidt, Bonn Chancellor, Walter Scheel, head of state, and Ernst Benda, chief justice of the Constitutional Court. (Photo: dpa)

Top politicians debate alleged disillusion with the state

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The Protestant Academy at Tutzing was the venue recently of a unique forum discussion in which the top representatives of the branches of government took part.

The included Bonn President Walter Scheel, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Bundestag President Karl Carstens and Presiding Justice of the Constitutional Court Ernst Benda. The theme was "The Future of Our Democracy."

Never before have the most important personalities of our state been joined in such a public discussion.

The moderator asked President Scheel towards the end of the event whether all will be forgotten tomorrow and whether the state has made some progress. Herr Scheel replied with evasive courtosy, saying that he would ponder all he had heard in the discussion during the next few months, pointing out that it would be wrong to expect too much of such an event.

The moderator apparently did exactly that probably because of all the celebrities who sat at the same table with him.

Instrumental in bringing about a discussion with such illustrious personalities was Bavaria's Liberal politician Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, state minister in the Bonn Foreign Office and chairman of the Theodor Heuss Prize Foundation. She had to make use of her excellent connections to achieve this.

Public interest was in keeping with the calibre of the personalities attending, although everybody should have realised that no new facts, insights or recipes would result from the meeting.

The discussion centred around reports of increasing disgruntlement with the state among the public.

The four guests were agreed that the situation could not possibly be all that bad.

Herr Scheel, for instance, said that the majority of citizens consider this state "the best we ever had." He went on to say that there are only few ("and one finds them everywhere") people who are truly disgruntled with the state and its politicians. But, he continued, it was perfectly justified to speak of "a discomfort with regard to the position and attitude of political parties." Especially young people doubt that the parties can solve the problems awaiting us.

Helmut Schmidt said that democratic life was more secure today than ten, fifteen or 20 years ago. According to him, the discomfort is frequently due to an unconscious lack of religious ties. Moreover, he said, we did not carefully enough delve into German and European history. As a result, people were in the dark as to how everything came about.

He also said that too many people in this country confront worldwide and supranational problems with parochial selfishness, saying: "They would like to solve the problems as if we were alone in the world, and when they find that they cannot do so, the much-vaunted disgruntlement ensues."

Herr Carstens said that "the faith in our system of government is much greater than the disgruntlement," pointing out that this was evidenced by the election turnout and the fact that 99 per cent of the electorate vote for the four established parties rather than for extremist groupings.

To strengthen state-consciousness, Karl Carstens recommends a more widespread use of such terms as "community" and "commonweal."

Herr Benda, this country's highest-ranking judge, said that the term "disgruntlement" was inappropriate. He preferred to speak of a mixture of scepticism and faith in the future.

In his view we must arrive at a certain consensus on the basic rules of the game and on certain basic facts. "Such a consensus exists, but it is in jeopardy," he said.

The four distinguished guests refused to be swayed by dissenters, but they were in full agreement with the public and its speakers on the fact that citizens' initiatives should be taken more seriously and be permitted to participate in the decision-making processes. Herr Schmidt added, however: "The citizens' initiatives have no monopoly on idealism, which can also be found in the political parties."

Theoretically, it was also agreed that conflicts and the overcoming of them

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■ OUR WORLD

The 6,000-year past life of Cornelia Metz

Cornelia Metz, a 32-year-old Munich secretary, lives in a three-roomed apartment on the second floor of a turn-of-the-century tenement block.

Son Thomas, 8, has just had his tonsils out. They have two cats and an aquarium of tropical fish.

Six thousand years ago she was a Stone Age cavewoman who killed her child because she no longer loved its father. The family then stoned her to death.

In the 18th century she was reborn in the Black Forest region of South-West Germany as Claudia Röder. At 24 she was incarcerated in a tower and eaten alive by rats because her husband had plotted to murder the Duke of Württemberg.

In the 19th century she was reborn near Ratibor, Silesia, an illegitimate daughter of Baron Redwitz, and died of consumption at the age of twelve.

She was born again in her latest, fourth reincarnation in Göppingen, near Stuttgart, in 1946 and recently starred on TV.

On TV Thorwald Dethlefsen, head of Munich Institute of Paranormal Psychology, hypnotised her. In her trance she told a television audience of millions about life in her previous incarnations.

She has since received fan mail daily. Most letters are cordial in tone, although some correspondents are abusive, accusing her of humbug.

Others telephone or even talk to her in the street. She is amazed at the response. "I would never have dreamt during filming that anything of the kind might happen."

Cornlia Metz now has a contract with Ferenczy, the literary agents. A serial and a book about her life are soon to appear. She met Thorwald Dethlefsen during work on a film. She was a production assistant, he was hypnotising human guinea pigs. "I was the first to nod off," she says.

Dethlefsen then asked her to volunteer for a number of experiments. She agreed, although she had no idea what kind of experiment he had in mind.

Münchner Merkur

It was only after a number of sessions that Dethlefsen, a trained psychologist, told her what she was telling him under hypnosis: events from her past lives.

"I have never dealt in detail with reincarnation and I am not going to," she says. She is firmly convinced she has lived several times before, but deliberately steers clear of Oriental religious texts in which rebirth of the soul in another body is a matter of course.

"I want to be sure I can fairly refute any allegation that I am merely blurting out under hypnosis what I may have read."

How does she feel about not living a life on earth for the first time? How does she cope with the experience? What was it like to have been eaten alive by rats?

"I now live more consciously and have learnt a lot from my past mistakes." She has also discovered parallels between her present and her past.

"Whenever I had children they were always sons. I myself have always been an illegitimate child and involved in unhappy love affairs."

Problems she has encountered in her present life have occurred in the past. She has always been dependent on someone or something and has continually tried to rid herself of this dependence.

Before hypnosis sessions she used to suffer from bouts of claustrophobia. She is sure this is due to her 18th-century incarceration in the Rat Tower, although in the children's home where she grew up this time round she was often locked in a room as punishment.

Now she knows about her past lives she is no longer troubled by claustrophobia. "Knowing about my former lives has helped me enormously in coping with my current problems."

She spends a good deal of time thinking about herself. "I prefer being on my own or with my son."

Dethlefsen is similarly convinced that the problems and neuroses with which people nowadays go to the psychiatrist or psychotherapist are due to happenings before birth and in a previous existence.

In conventional psychology and medicine he is virtually on his own with his view, but all major religions and philosophies, especially Hinduism and Buddhism, ask where we come from, where we are going and whether we only live once or are reborn in some other form.

Science, however, has yet to come up with a definite answer that puts paid to all doubts on the subject.

In his work as a psychotherapist Dethlefsen claims to have come across phenomena which bear out the theory of reincarnation.

Volunteers (but not patients of his) are hypnotised and sent back through their past to describe what early life was like. This technique, known as age regression, is a well-known psychoanalytic procedure.

But Dethlefsen has gone further than psychiatrists have previously dared, taking his volunteers back to birth, conception and events both he and they describe as experience undergone in past existence.

He tells his story in a book entitled *Das Erlebnis der Wiedergeburt* (The Experience of Rebirth), published by Bertelsmann, Munich.

He has developed a theory to explain his practical results, basing his assumptions on the classic division of man into body, mind and soul.

The body according to Dethlefsen is mere matter and disappears entirely after death. The mind is "life itself" and the soul, or consciousness, is what gives man his individuality or personal characteristics.

"After death you can probe a body with every scientific method known to man," he says, "and you will find that nothing whatever is missing."

He reckons there must be something inside the individual that governs everything that goes on in the human body. This something cannot be matter.



Cornelia Metz (Photo: FMS)

It is the soul, which leaves the body after death. The process, after all, is described figuratively as giving up the ghost.

Rainer Fuchs, professor of educational science and sociology at Munich University of Technology, has followed Dethlefsen's experiments both in private and on TV.

He takes an altogether different view of what Dethlefsen interprets as proof of past life. He feels the experiences related may be no more than dreams and fantasies that have been repressed over the years.

While the individual is fully conscious these dreams are not accessible or can only be brought to the surface with difficulty. Under hypnosis they are rediscovered.

This theory of reincarnation is a challenge to the Church too. It cannot be reconciled with the promise of salvation, mercy and the love of God.

Gerhard Adler, a Baden-Baden journalist and specialist in religious affairs who is the author of *Wiedergeboren nach dem Tode?* (Reborn After Death?), published by Knecht-Verlag, Frankfurt, says reincarnation and Christian teachings are irreconcilable.

Christian resurrection is not rebirth in another body but a radical step by man in the direction of God: "a spiritual rebirth," as he puts it.

Susanne Höll

(Münchner Merkur, 30 September 1978)

Continued from page 12

were part and parcel of democracy. But in practice it turned out that the willingness to abide by this principle was not always in evidence even among the highest representatives of the state.

This was borne out by the clash between Chancellor Schmidt and Justice Benda when the Chancellor criticised the Constitutional Court's ruling on remunerations for members of parliament and, with a clear reference to the chief justice, said that the guardians of the Constitution should not go to the very limit of their authority.

Chief Justice Benda, his feelings visibly hurt, said that it was not the Chancellor's job to give marks to Germany's highest court, adding that he found it tasteless to discuss such matters in such a forum. "Where else? " asked a heckler.

Rudolf Grosskopff

(Der Tagesspiegel, 3 October 1978)

Craftsmen used electricity 2,000 years ago

History must probably be rewritten when it comes to the discovery of electricity. A team of Hildesheim scientists have shown that the Ancient Parthians knew how to handle electricity 2,000 years ago.

Parthia was an ancient country in what is now North-East Iran and formed a province of the Assyrian and Persian empires, later of the empire founded by Alexander the Great.

A new Parthian kingdom was set up about 250 BC and reached its height at the beginning of the first century BC.

The Parthians, scientists claim, knew how to make an electric cell that worked as a battery and could be used in galvanising and gold-plating.

This mysterious device is one of 209 exhibits on loan from the National Museum in Baghdad and on show at the Römer-Pelizäus Museum, Hildesheim, since last June.

It is an earthenware tube about 18 cm, or a little over seven inches, tall and dates back to the time of Christ. It was unearthed near Baghdad in 1936, so it hails from Mesopotamia, the cradle of civilisation.

Inside, a copper cylinder was glued in place by asphalt, a natural product that was mined and exported even in those days. Inside the copper cylinder was an iron rod similarly fixed.

Three earthenware bowls with magic inscriptions were found nearby.

Archaeologists have hazarded many a guess as to the use to which the device was put. One surmise was that it was used by sorcerers. But recently hundreds of similar containers have come to light.

So it was agreed that they must have been used for some craft or trade. A team of experts recently met in Hildesheim to discuss the possibilities.

They included a battery specialist, an electrochemist, a goldsmith and a galvaniser. The team was headed by Dr Arne Eggebrecht, curator of the museum, and Rolf Schulte, a member of the museum staff.

They arranged an experiment to gold-plate an imitation silver statuette which is another of the exhibits. Schulte supplied the acid by pressing grapes.

The copper cylinder, iron rod and grape-juice acid rightly arranged generated half a volt. In two-and-a-half hours the silver statuette the size of a box of matches was gold-plated.

But how did the Parthians come by gold cyanide? The scientists reckon it must have been discovered more or less by accident when sheets of leather between which gold was beaten to gold leaf were left lying around and decomposed.

So Arne Eggebrecht is convinced that Luigi Galvani's experiment with a frog's leg in 1789 was merely a rediscovery of knowledge put to use 2,000 years before but forgotten during the Dark Ages.

Friedhelm Henkel

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 27 September 1978)

■ MODERN LIVING

Men's lib at Lüneburg night school

Bremer Nachrichten

Reacting to Women's Lib and all that goes with it, the Lüneburg *Volkshochschule* has established a men's forum. But it still remains to be seen whether this will become a meeting place for "pashas" and "tyrants" in an effort to defend male domination or a help in male search for a new self-image.

The forum is part of the winter semester programme and a novelty in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The organisers speak of "delving into typical cliches of the male role" and "improving relations with others."

Ludwig Kämpffer, 39, educationalist and head of the forum, views its function – ten two-hour meetings are scheduled initially – primarily as a reaction to Women's Lib, saying: "If groups of women try to drive a wedge between men and women in their social development, they have embarked on the wrong course and distract from the major problem of an industrial society."

The forum is to serve a development "towards each other" of the sexes, to find what men and women have in common and to promote dialogue between the sexes. This is something which Herr Kämpffer misses in many groups of the feminist movement.

"I cannot rid myself of the suspicion," he says, "that many feminist groups would like to turn the tables and replace male domination by female rule."

The opposing positions, he feels, will only aggravate the conflict between the sexes. For a proper self-assessment it would be meaningful to temporarily form male and female groups where they can be among each other. But in the long run we must strive for community.

The first forum meeting took place recently. Attendance was rather poor, and views among the participants, aged between 30 and 62, differed widely.

Some were looking for a bridge partner, others wanted a travel companion and one, recently divorced, wanted somebody on whom to vent his frustration because on the very same evening his ex-wife attended a similar forum for women.

Says Herr Kämpffer: "These reasons might only serve as a pretext because it seemed obvious that the participants were looking for someone to talk to. We'll probably get down to more personal and intimate problems at a later stage."

Generally, men are not much inclined to talk about themselves, notwithstanding the need for such a dialogue.

The long domination of men is not denied in the forum. But on the other hand, Herr Kämpffer asks, "did not men also suffer at the hands of women?"

He believes that emotionally and sexually the man is much more dependent on his partner than is the woman, and that women have taken advantage of this situation, getting their revenge – as for instance by refusing to have sex.

This view is bound to meet with protest from feminist circles. *dpa*

(Bremer Nachrichten, 3 October 1978)

Housewives put in a long day

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Commissioned by the Bonn Food and Agriculture Ministry, researchers have figured out that a housewife in a city household of four spends seven hours a day looking after the home.

This means that cooking, cleaning and looking after the children takes up more time in such a household than it does in larger ones.

The housewife in an average household in rural areas – average meaning a household of six – spends only six hours a day doing housework.

Single women allow themselves an average of 2.5 hours. In households of two, this rises to 4.5, in those with three members to 5.6 and those with five to 6.5 hours.

The work in a household of three (household of four in brackets) is broken down as follows: Shopping 29 minutes (40); preparation of cold meals and drinks (29 (41); cooking and baking 43 (51); dishwashing 26 (39); house cleaning 49 (60); making beds 12 (19); laundry 25 (29) and cleaning of outer garments 11 (20). *dpa*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 October 1978)

Two-time Turkish stowaway, 13, pleads to stay in Germany

Hassan Colaker, a 13-year old Turkish boy, set out all on his own, without money and without a ticket, to travel to Germany.

And, indeed, he managed to land in Cologne. Now he is in a youth hostel there, waiting for somebody to help him so that he does not have to go back to Istanbul.

Asked what would happen if he were to be sent back after all, he made no bones about the fact that he would try it again.

His story began on 15 September when his mother, who earns her money in sleazy harbour bars, came home drunk, accompanied by a stranger who beat Hassan up, as had happened many times before. It was on that evening that he decided to begin a new life.

His piggy-bank yielded the equivalent of about DM18 enough to take him the 457 kilometres to Ankara.

Trustingly, he went to the police who took him back to Istanbul (his original destination was Kars at the foot of Mount Araat, the furthest point from Istanbul within Turkey).

Early one evening he arrived back in Istanbul where he was told to wait for his mother.

Says the boy: "She would only have beaten me up again and I was in no mood to be tortured any longer."

Hassan ran away again. Using the last of his money, he went to Istanbul Airport and picked an aircraft he considered suitable. It was the flight to Düsseldorf, a charter plane due to take off around midnight. Most of the passengers were Turkish workers in Germany returning from home leave.

Cleverly, Hassan discovered a family with many children and, mingling with them, he managed to get through passport control.

On arrival in Düsseldorf, he realised that he would not get very far without a word of German and with no money at all; so he decided to present himself to the airport police, having but one wish: to stay in Germany: a wish which German law made impossible

And so he wound up in Istanbul again, where Turkish policemen awaited him. While the police informed his mother, Hassan took off again.

Familiar with the airport by now, he made his way to the departure lounge while the policemen were still looking for him in the arrival section.



Hassan Colaker (Photo: Ingeborg Spielman)

Only a short while later, he was aboard another charter plane winging its way to Cologne.

Hassan does not know yet that he is to be taken back to Istanbul again in another two weeks or so. Says he: "I'd like to stay here, go to school and learn a trade. And once I've repaid may mother's debts she won't have to work in bars anymore. She's always been a good mother when she was sober. My father died long ago, and I'll always love my mother."

There are no two ways about what Hassan would like to become one day. He wants to be a policeman, preferably in Germany. "German policemen are such nice people," he says.

But no-one knows what will really become of him. The Turkish consulate is trying to look after him, but it, too, is at a loss.

There is one hope still remaining to the boy: He knows that there are three Turkish women living in Germany who would like to look after him because they lived in his neighbourhood and knew about his lot.

Comments Hassan, acting like a seasoned traveller: "If they take me back to Istanbul I'll pick a direct flight to New York the next time. But should I wind up in Germany after all, I'd like to live in Cologne, which is the nicest city."

Baha T. Güngör

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 4 October 1978)

■ SPORT

Women crown proud hockey season

In a good season for West German hockey, the men came fourth at the world championships in Argentina in March and in September went on to win the European championship title in Hanover. The women have just come second at their world championships in Madrid.

The national hockey teams face their next major challenge at the 1980 Olympics in Moscow, where for the first time women's teams will be taking part.

But there are still doubts over whether officials can go ahead with booking arrangements. International officialdom seems much more amateur than the genuinely amateur playing squad.

For instance, the women still have no idea how countries are supposed to qualify for the Olympic tournament. The men too are far from happy.

"It is incredible how officials mess players about," says men's team coach Klaus Kleiter. As true amateurs the players rely on long-term planing to be able to combine sport and work (or study).

Yet instead of arranging definite dates and deadlines officials seem to prefer chopping and changing.

In 1975, for instance, the International Hockey Federation decided to hold world championships at regular four-year intervals, starting that year.

That would have meant a world championships in 1979, a year before the Olympics, both clear targets and the world tournament obviously a qualifying round for the Olympics.

Hardly had the decision been reached when Argentina successfully pleaded with international officials to bring the 1979 world championships forward a year.

Argentina staged the world championships earlier this year. They were followed a few months later by the European championships, a combination which made inordinate demands on players' time.

Women are even worse off. Like professional boxing, they have the curse of rival world bodies:

– The women's section of the International Hockey Federation, which has just held its world championships in Madrid. Holland won and West Germany was runner-up.

– The International Federation of Women's Hockey Associations, a women-only organisation run by British officials along outmoded lines.

In 1975 they set up a Supreme Council to select five women's teams (in addition to the Soviet women) to take part in the Moscow tournament.

"But apart from stating its intention of making a selection the Supreme Council has so far done nothing," says Werner Nowak, coach of the West German women.

It looks as though he and his girls will have to forget about their IHF championships in Madrid and fly to Vancouver next year for the IFWHA championships.

It could be a chequered path. Team strength in hockey partly decides the outcome, but much depends on referees' goodwill. Hockey referees are empowered to interpret the rules more widely than in almost any other sport.

IFWHA referees often interpret them differently from what West German women are used to with IHF refs.

So runner-up to the world champions in Madrid does not necessarily mean the team stands a reasonable chance of doing as well in Vancouver.

The crucial role of the referee could hardly have been more tellingly demonstrated than in the final of the European championships in Hanover.

With six minutes to go, M. Segui, the French referee, awarded the Dutch a penalty from the seven-metre spot. Holland were trailing West Germany 3-2.

The referee was the only person in the stadium to see the offence that warranted a penalty. Even the Dutch hockey magazine later said the last-minute penalty had been a gift.

As it happened, Dutch scoring ace Paul Litjens' nerve failed him and goalie Klaus Ludwiczak held a ball which could have led to a Dutch victory. A victory from this penalty would have been a little unfair.

Both men and women are full of promise. The West German men have been highly fancied since the European championships, having played poorly in Argentina.

The team there played safe and was utterly boring. Coach Kleiter took a lot of stick for their performance, but six months later in Hanover a younger team could hardly have given more in creativity and pluck.

Several youngsters had no international experience but played superbly in the semi-final against Spain and the final against Holland, winning both games 3-2.

Klaus Kleiter had nothing to lose. In the preliminary round he was criticised so trenchantly that few gave him much chance of seeing out his contract. So he decided to go on the attack.

"If Klaus Kleiter carries on as he did in Hanover I reckon his team should do well in Moscow," says Horst Wein, a former West German international who now coaches the Spanish team. He is one of the world's best-informed hockey commentators.

Despite his difficulties, women's coach Werner Nowak is also confident about the IFWHA world championships in Vancouver next August.

"With my squad of young girls I am prepared to play any competition," he says.

His four forwards are between 8 and 20. They were runners-up to world champions Holland in Madrid, despite a catastrophic showing in the crucial penalty corner.

"If we succeed in steadying our play and convert our penalty corners into goals there is no opponent we need fear," Nowak says.

These are the words of a hockey coach who is a fervent advocate of attacking soccer as played by Borussia-Mönchengladbach.

Hanspeter Delmer

(Die Zeit, 6 October 1978)



Moment of silence before breaking the Soviet trampoline monopoly: Ute Luxon (left) and Ute Schelle, new world pairs champions. (Photo: Horstmüller)

Utes bounce off with world title

Two Utes, 29-year-old games mistress Ute Luxon and 17-year-old schoolgirl Ute Scheile, both from Salzgitter, won the trampoline pairs world championships at Newcastle, New South Wales, by a narrow margin.

Tatiana Anizimova and Viktoria Belaeva of the Soviet Union were runners-up. The two Utes were alone in breaking the Soviet athletes' monopoly at the tenth world trampoline championships.

It was neither girl's first world crown. Ute Luxon, née Czech, won the pairs title ten years ago with Christa Mohrlang. Ute Scheile won in 1974 with Petra Wenzel.

Men's individual winner was Evgeni Yanes, Tatiana Anizimova won the women's, and the men's doubles was taken by Yanes and Vladimir Shadiaev.

The two West German girls scored 41.2 points and won by a tenth of a point. Their freestyle display was faultless and their deportment slightly better, as was their synchronisation.

But Soviet officials were unable to accept such a narrow defeat with good grace. They lodged a protest but were eventually persuaded that it was groundless by Erich Kinzel from Frankfurt am Main, president of the International Trampoline Association.

The best individual from the Federal Republic was 20-year-old Bernd Wölke from Essen, who came fourth in the men's event.

In the women's individual event national champion Gabi Kruswicki from Duisburg came fifth, ahead of Ute Luxon, who now has an impressive list of titles.

She has won the individual women's national championship title nine times, the pairs five times, was European singles champion in 1969, and doubles champion in 1975 and 1977. In 1970 she was runner-up in the individual world championships, and twice, in 1968 and 1978, pairs world champion.

The surprise at this year's world championships is that the Americans, who used to reign, have yet to recover from the shock of not winning a single title at Tulsa two years ago.

"Standards in Newcastle were roughly the same as in Tulsa two years ago," says Erich Kinzel. *dpa*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 October 1978)

Milser lifts Germany's 40-year jinx

Rolf Milser: tears in Montreal, joy in Gettysburg. (Photo: FMS)

Weightlifter Rolf Milser, 27, has won his world championship title at last. In Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the Duisburg athlete lifted 377.5 kg and 215 kg in the medium heavyweight class to win a gold medal, the first German weightlifter to win a world title for 40 years.

Two years ago in Montreal Milser had to retire in tears because of cramp. At last year's championships in Stuttgart he snatched defeat from the jaws of victory. This time he made sure of his title.

"All told, what with health checks, the sauna and training I spend about seven hours a day on sport," he says. He has done so for 11 years, ever since a friend took him round to a training session and he decided weightlifting was for him.

He lifts between 40 and 70 tons a day and intends to carry on until 1980 in the hope of adding Olympic gold to his collection.

In Gettysburg he benefited not only from his current form but also from team selection difficulties which obliged the Soviet Union to enter Olympic gold medallist David Rigert one weight higher.

With 162.5 kg in the snatch, Milser was only fifth. But 215 kg in the press assured him of his world crown.

(Die Welt, 9 October 1978)